A FOURTH LETTER TO THE People of *ENGLAND.*

[Price Two Shillings.]

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TO THE
People of ENGLAND.

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ON THE

Conduct of the M——rs in Alliances, Fleets, and Armies, ſince the firſt Differences on the *Ohio*, to the taking of *Minorca* by the *French.*

Jocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto eſſe, qui temporibus his ridere poſſit; ita ſunt omnia debilitata jam prope & extincta. CICERO.

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A FOURTH LETTER

A

LETTER

TO THE

People of England.

ON THE

ERRATA.

PAGE 58, l. 6, for *Ruſſians*, read *Heſſians.*
69, l. 9, for *arrive*, read *tarry.*

A

LETTER

TO THE

People of *England.*

LETTER IV.

AT length the long predicted Conſequences and fatal Effects of m——l Miſconduct, ſo much derided by thoſe who gave and thoſe who received the Wages of Iniquity, are become too alarming to be denied by the moſt hardy and inured to that pernicious Practice.

EVEN thoſe who traffick in your undoing, acquieſce in this Truth, and preſume to

vindicate themſelves by aſſerting ye were found undone, when the Ad——n was delivered into their Hands, and that no Remedy has ſufficient Efficacy to ſave you from Perdition.

A

THE dire Dilemma into which ye are brought, your diſtreſſed Situation, the Loads of accumulated Taxes, the Diminution of Trade, the Neglect of *Engliſh* Welfare, the Attention to *Germanic* Intereſts, the Reliances on Foreign Mercenaries, and Contempt of *Britiſh* Subjects for the Defence of this Iſland, the whole Conduct of Affairs both at home and abroad in *Europe* and *America*, and that deſpicable Appearance to which ye are reduced in the Sight of every Nation upon Earth, render this too viſible to every Eye the leaſt inquiſitive, and too afflicting to every Heart not yet transformed to Stone by the long Practice of plundering it's Native Land.

To avoid all Appearance of inflammatory Declamation, and ſilence the defamatory Tongues of all who ſhare their Country's Spoils, who aſſert that every Attempt to eman-cipate you from your Evils, is a malignant Deſign to depreciate the M——y; let us im-

partially

partially recall to your Eyes the moſt material Articles of the Ad———n, ſince the Commencement of Differences between the *Britiſh* and *French* Subjects on the Banks of the River *Ohio*.

In this place, the more effectually to lay before you the real Cauſes of this War, it will be neceſſary to lead you back to a Tranſaction not ſufficiently known by all of you, which paſſed between the M——y of *France* and *England*.

In the Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Forty-nine, or One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Fifty, ſome *American* Traders, Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, travelled to the Borders of the *Ohio*, to traffick with the Natives of thoſe Parts. This being known to the *Canadian French*, Meſſengers were diſpatched to acquaint them, that unleſs they withdrew from their Maſter's Territories, their Effects would be confiſcated, and themſelves carried to Priſon at *Quebec*. This Meſſage the Traders thought fit to obey, and withdrew in Conſequence of it.

The succeeding Season, another Company of *British* Subjects came to trade on the *Ohio*, and not withdrawing on a like Message with the former, their Goods were confiscated and themselves carried Prisoners to *Quebec*, from whence they were brought to *Rochelle* in *France*, and still detained in Prison. Not conscious of having violated the Laws of Nations, or traded on any Ground to which the King of *Great Britain* had not an undoubted Right, they remonstrated to the *B—sh* M——y, insisted upon being claimed as *B—sh* Subjects, and honourably discharged from Prison, as Persons unoffending the Laws of Nations; nay they entertained the honourable Hopes of *Englishmen*, that the M——y of *E——d* would not cease to demand an Indemnification for the Loss of that Merchandize, which had been unjustly taken from them, and Reparation for the Insult and long Imprisonment of their Persons; Expectations becomming Men who value their Liberties, Properties, and Nation's Honour; in this they were deceived, the true Spirit of an *En—sh* M——r no longer dwelt amongst us, the Amb——r at *Paris*, instead of demanding these Subjects of his Master, as Men unjustly

unjuſtly held in Priſon, and Reparation for the Injuries they had received, was ordered by the M——y to ſollicit, as a Favour from the Court of *France*, the Diſcharge of them only, acknowledging their Offence. Were not your S——n's Rights, and your own Privileges ſhamefully given up? Were not the Lands on the *Ohio* confeſſed to belong to the King of *France*? Were not the *French* juſtified in impriſoning your Fellow-Subjects, and confiſcating their Effects, by this tame Behaviour of the *B——ſh* M——r?

AFTER this daſtardly Conceſſion in thoſe whoſe Duty it is to defend your Privileges, can it be a Wonder that that Country was claimed by the *French* as their own, or that they began to built Forts and Block-Houſes to ſecure the Trade, and aſcertain the Property of it?

LITTLE as this Tranſaction was known or attended to in *E——d*, the taking Poſſeſſion in this Manner of the Frontiers of *Virginia*, alarmed the People of that Province, in conſequence of which Mr *Waſhington* attacked them in thoſe Parts, and was defeated.

IT

It ſeems, however, that before this timid Acquieſcence of the *B—ſh* M——r, in thus acknowledging that Part of *A——a* to be the Property of *France*, he had granted the Lands on the *Ohio* to a Quaker of the City of *London*, and his Aſſociates.

Thus caught between the King of *France* and a Quaker, like the Mariners of old between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, he became unequal to the Dangers and Difficulty of the Steerage, and fell into great Embarraſſments.

He now perceived, that though he had puſillanimouſly given up to Enemies his Maſter's Rights and your Privileges, that the *French* Miniſter, tenacious of both, and his own Honour, could not be negociated into receding from what had been granted him; he perceived alſo, that the Quaker, fortified by a pertinacious Adherence to his own Intereſt, could not be ſoothed into relinquiſhing the Grant which had been made him. If the *French* Monarch was backed by the Arm of Fleſh, and Two Hundred Thouſand Men to ſupport his Claim to the *Ohio*, the Quaker was ſuſtained in his by the Spirit of Obſtinacy,

and

and Intereſt of the Legion of Sectaries; on one Side a *French* Invaſion and a War filled the M——r with horrid Apprehenſions; on the other, he was greatly diſquieted, leſt, by deſerting the Quaker, he ſhould offend the Money-Jobbers of the City, and be unable to raiſe the Supplies.

To ſtrengthen this Dilemma of the M——r, there was added to the inſuperable Propenſity in a Quaker of never relinquiſhing an Advantage, a ſecondary Motive, which probably at that Time eſcaped the ſharp-ſighted Ken of our m——l Lynceus; the Grant of the *Ohio*, however great it might be conceived, was a diſtant and problematical Advantage only, a War on the Continent of *America* was a preſent and poſitive one, as the Remittances to the Armies in thoſe Parts, an Object of great Gain, would paſs through his Hands, and by Means of this Money ſent to *America*, his Debtors in that Country would be enabled to diſcharge thoſe Debts, which otherwiſe he entertained but little Hopes of receiving.

Urged by theſe Motives, this Son of Meekneſs and Reſignation preſſed the M——r

M——r to send those Subjects, whose Loyalty to their King, and Love to their Country, are above all Fear of Danger, to sacrifice their Lives in recovering the Lands of Men whose Principles will not permit them to defend the Cause, or fight the Battles of King or Country.

Thus, at first, the want of Spirit in the M——r, to vindicate his S——n's Rights and Subjects Privileges, timidly beseeching as a Favour, what he had a Right to demand as Justice from the *French*, has given that Nation a better Foundation to the Claim of the *Ohio*.

And, lastly, the Dread of being deserted by Money-Jobbers and Sectaries, has prevailed over the Terror of the *French* Arms, and induced him to attempt the recovering by Force, what he had renounced by Concession: Happy that Nation which is destined to the A——n of such consistent M——rs.

If it be asked whence it comes to pass that this Behaviour of the *B—sh* M——r has never been mentioned in the *French* Memorials

morals relative to the Diſputes in *America*, it may be anſwered, with Truth, that the *French* Miniſtry perfectly knew that this ceding the Territories of *England*, by the Timidity of the M——r, was no legal relinquiſhing the *B—ſh* Right to theſe Lands, and that the K—g and People would never acquieſce in this Conceſſion.

THEY therefore made no public Uſe of this Argument, reſerving it only between the *B—ſh* M——r and themſelves, leſt a public Declaration of this Affair might remove him from the Ad————n, and the *French* Monarch loſe an Ally of greater Conſequence to his Succeſs than any Potentate in *Europe*; for what can impart ſuch Strength to an Enemy, as the want of Courage and Capacity in the Man who oppoſes him?

THE *French* M——y had proved in a former War, and by long Experience in Peace, the Inconſiſtency, Inability, and Timidity of this Man; to theſe they were greatly indebted for their Succeſs in the late War, on his Diſpoſitions and Capacity they preſumed to encroach upon us during Peace, on the ſame Qualities they promiſed themſelves

ſelves the like Advantages for the future; to diſcover his timid and abſurd Behaviour was to riſque his Removal, an Event to be dreaded by all *French* Subjects. They concluded, perhaps too raſhly, that as no Nation ever had furniſhed two M——rs, ſucceeding each other, ſo unequal to the Task of governing as this Man, that therefore no Nation could; and in conſequence of this Manner of Thinking, ſecreted this Behaviour with reſpect to the *Obio*, and choſe rather to make *Nova Scotia* the Object of the Quarrel to the Public. This they determined to ſuſtain by Arms, when they found themſelves defeated in Argument.

After a moſt gracious Speech from the Throne at the Beginning of the Seſſion, when all was gentle and pacific, on *Tueſday* the Twenty-fifth of *March*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five, the Scene ſuddenly changes, War becomes the univerſal Converſation, and a Meſſage was ſent from his M——y to both Houſes, importing that the preſent Situation of Affairs required an Augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, to defend his juſt Rights in *America*, and repel whatever Attempts might be made againſt

his

his Kingdoms; not doubting but his faithful P———t would enable him to make ſuch Augmentations as the Emergency of Affairs ſhould require.

To this Meſſage both Houſes preſented very loyal Addreſſes, expreſſing their utmoſt Zeal and Affection for his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Family, and Government, aſſuring him of a ready Compliance in ſupporting him to repel all Attempts which may be made to diſturb, or deprive him of his Kingdoms.

Let us now ſee what Proviſion has been made in Defence of all Parts of his M——y's Dominions by his M——r, in conſequence of this Reſolution of Hoſtilities. Mr *Braddock* had been juſt ſent to *Virginia* with *Engliſh* Forces; the fatal Effects of that Expedition, the Weakneſs of the Deſign, and ineffectual Execution of it, have been already laid before you.

The Defeat of that Officer being accompanied with his Death, a Miſtake, not inferior to the firſt Choice of this Commander, was diſcovered to every Eye; it ſeems there

was no Officer amongſt the remaining military Force which had been ſent to *America*, equal to a Command of ſuch Conſequence.

The M——r then who planned this Expedition, muſt have concluded that Mr *Braddock* was both invincible and immortal; otherwiſe, as a Diſeaſe might defeat all the Succeſs which the greateſt Courage, Prudence, and Capacity might atchieve, and the *French* Arms prevail by the Loſs of a General whom Death only could conquer, he would have ſent a Second equal to the Task of commanding an Army. My Reaſon for ſaying this, is, that when Opportunity had proved, contrary to m——l Wiſdom, that this General was neither invincible nor immortal, the Command did not devolve on any Officer ſent from hence with Mr *Braddock*.

Now to me it ſeems, that nothing can be a more convincing Proof of the M——r's imagining Mr *Braddock* ſuperior to Death and Defeat, and of the ſuppoſed Inſufficiency of all the Officers who accompanied him, than the Command in Chief falling on G——l S——y.

THIS Gentleman had been bred at the Bar, and was grown old in the Practice of it; by unforeſeen Accidents he at laſt became G——r of a Province in *New England*; he had never been preſent at Siege or Battle, and his Talents, however nicely adapted to his Profeſſion of the Law and other Departments of a G——r, promiſed but little Succeſs in the Management of military Affairs, being by Nature ſlow, diffident, and inert: Him, notwithſtanding, the *E—ſh* M——r ſelected to command the King's Armies in *America*, accompanied with the Appointments and Pay of the late Duke of *Marlborough*.

IT is remarkable alſo, that the m——l Choice falling on this Gentleman, proved a more favourable Circumſtance to our Enemies, than could have happened in the appointing of any other *American* Governor. What a ſurpriſing Genius for deviating from the Right, is this Nation bleſt with in a M——r!

THE Character of every other Governor in *America* being unknown to the *French* Court, whoever beſides had been appointed G——l,

G——l, they might probably have concluded that as he ought to be, ſo he was, equal to the Command of an Army. This would, at leaſt, have made our Enemies leſs ſanguine in their Hopes of Succeſs; but Mr *S——y* was as well known at *Paris*, where he reſided a long while Com——y for ſettling *Nova Scotia*, as in *London*; ſo that the *French* Miniſtry being perfectly acquainted with his Talents, the Apprehenſions of Danger from ſuch a Commander, were but little in their Minds, or in thoſe who were to oppoſe him.

NAY, ſo full were the *Pariſians*, on the News of his being appointed Commander in Chief in *America*, that the firſt Salutation amongſt thoſe who were acquainted with him, was, *Que penſez vous Monſieur, Le Miniſtre d'Angleterre a nommé notre ami Monſieur* S——y *Général des Armées du Roy en Amérique.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this Appellation of Friend by the *French*, I am convinced it did not ariſe from any prevailing Inclination imagined in G——l *S——y* towards that Nation; nor would I be thought to blame him

him for accepting this Poſt, ſo honourable and lucrative; to have refuſed it, would have been an unexampled Inſtance of Self-denial; an Expectation not founded in the Nature of Man: Nothing is more natural than to imagine ourſelves equal to every Undertaking which our Superiors conceive us to be; without this prevalent and encouraging Self-opinion, the M——r muſt have long ſince reſigned his Charge.

In conſequence of being deſtined to the chief Command, Mr. *S——y* repaired to *Albany*, where, after long imitating the celebrated *Fabius* in Delay, he, at length, with the ſame Deliberation, began his March, counting his Steps towards the Lake *Ontario*, where, being, alas, too maturely arrived, and perceiving that nothing was to be done againſt the Enemy, he as deliberately marched back again, meeting no Oppoſition which he did not eaſily overcome; and thus began and ended the Expedition of G——l *S——y*, exactly as it had been predicted by all who knew him, imitating the great *Lewis* in going up the Hill and coming down again. In this, however, the whole Blame reſts on him who choſe, and not on him that was choſen;

choſen; the G——l ſurely is to be pardoned who failed in his Expedition, when the M——r was ſo much miſtaken in his Judgment of him.

NOTWITHSTANDING this manifeſt Deficiency in the *B—ſh* M——y, in the Choice of their Generals, that of the *Americans* was as remarkably juſt. General *Johnſon*, formed by Nature for the military Art, whom Sagacity blended with Courage, Activity with Patience, render what is not always to be found amongſt Seen-ſervice and regular bred Warriors, was the Object of their Choice.

THIS Gentleman, with the Militia of the Provinces, took the *French* General Priſoner, and defeated Ten times the Number of thoſe *French* Troops, before which Mr *Braddock* and his Regulars ſhamefully retired; and though this military Succeſs was followed by no farther Advantage to the *American* Cauſe than that of taking Priſoner the Enemy's General, it muſt be imputed entirely to the jarring Councils of the different Provinces, Delay in ſending Proviſions and Recruits,

cruits, Envy of his Succeſs, and various other Cauſes.

LET us now turn our Eyes on what was tranſacted in another Part of *America*. It ſeems the Inhabitants of *New England*, being thoroughly acquainted with the Importance of *Nova Scotia*, had reſolved to drive the *French* from their Forts in that Part of *America*; with this View General *Winslow* and Two Thouſand Militia ſailed for *Halifax*, where being arrived, and joined by about Two or Three Hundred Regulars only, under the Command of Colonel *Monckton*, they took *Beau-ſejour*, and immediately all the other Forts ſurrendered.

THUS the only Advantages which were derived from all the military Preparations againſt the *French* in *America*, were effected by a General, unknown to the *B—ſh* M——r, and a Militia of *Americans*, and by an Expedition planned by the Provinces of *New England*, the laſt of which Exploits the *Americans* had always in their Power to accompliſh, unaſſiſted by Men, Money, or Ships, from this Iſland: whilſt the Generals and the Expeditions appointed by the M——r,

were either ignominiously defeated, or rendered ineffectual.

THE laſt Summer then was productive of the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*, Mr *Braddock's* Defeat, Mr *S——y's* ineffectual March to *Oſwego*, General *Johnſon's* Victory unpurſued through Deficiency of Powers, and his relinquiſhing the Service through Diſguſt.

THE Campaign being terminated ſo little to the Advantage of the *Americans*, the moſt natural Thought which could employ the Attention of a Stateſman, was that of ſpeedily reinforcing thoſe Parts againſt the *French* Attempts, which would undoubtedly be more vigourous the ſucceeding Summer than the former, as Men and Ammunition would be ſent them to ſuſtain the Eſtabliſhments they had made on the Back of the *B—ſh* Settlements; let us ſee what Proviſion has been made, and how ſpeedily Aſſiſtance has been tranſmitted to your Fellow-Subjects in thoſe Parts, from whence the great Source of your Wealth and Commerce is derived.

The firſt Attempt in their Favour was that of creating a Regiment of *Germans* to be enliſted

enliſted in *Europe*, and ſent thither; whoſe Officers were to be compoſed of Men, Strangers to this Land, and Aliens to it's Liberties and Privileges, unproved by Experience, guiltleſs of Siege or Battle, in whoſe Favour the *Britiſh* Subjects of untainted Loyalty and approved Courage were rejected, and even an expreſs Article, in an Act relating to the Settlement of the preſent auguſt Family on the Throne, was ſuſpended by a particular Bill in Parliament. Notwithſtanding all this, tranſacted in Favour of Foreigners, no Advantage has hitherto accrued to the Plantations from that Deſign, neither Men or Officers being yet ſailed to that Part.

The Winter paſſed away, the Spring was advancing! No G——l appointed! No *Engliſh* Troops deſtined for the Succour of *America*, 'till on *April* the Fifteenth, the Tranſports ſet Sail with *Otway's* and *Murray's* Regiments for *America*, too late to be of any Aſſiſtance 'till next Spring, unleſs the *French* may, peradventure, poſſeſs themſelves of *Virginia*, or ſome other ill defended Colony before their Arrival.

In ſuch Situation and Diſtreſs as the Provinces remained at the End of laſt Autumn, when the Deficiency of Generals was ſo apparent to all Comprehenſions, it is to be believed that the Commander in chief ſhould have been with-held 'till the latter End of *May*, and yet this has been the real State of the Caſe.

That Man who was to ſuperſede all others in Command, has not been ſent 'till it is probably become too late for him to perform any thing of Conſequence this Summer; the General in chief, who ſhould have been ſent laſt Autumn, and been preſent in a new Country as long as poſſible before his entering upon Action, to be acquainted with the different Reſolutions of the various Provinces, to have known the Genius of the Inhabitants, planned the Expeditions, and created a Confidence in thoſe who were to obey him, was the laſt Perſon diſpatched on this Occaſion.

It is but lately that even any one has been ſent to *America*; within two Months Mr *Webb* has ſuperſeded Mr *S*——*y*, General *Abercrombie* Mr *Webb*, and Lord *Loudon* all

all of them: by this deep Contrivance, indeed, the M——r has fulfilled the Scriptures, which say, the first shall be last, and the last first; yet without the Imputation of Infidelity, there are those who cannot believe that the Chief in Command ought to be the least acquainted with the Business he is to undertake.

Is there another Head in *Europe*, besides the m——l, which would have sent Commanders in this Manner? If Lord *Loudon* had gone first, Mr *Webb* and General *Abercrombie* would have followed naturally; and, as they were under him in Command, fallen into their Places of Duty, which are to obey his Orders and Dispositions; but as the M——r has destined the Affair, the Commander in chief must now follow the Plans of Men inferior to himself in military Knowledge, or remain inactive; for certainly the Preparation for every military Expedition, must have been too far advanced before Lord *Loudon's* Arrival, to admit of any considerable Alteration; nay, even before Mr *Webb* and *Abercrombie* arrived; so that Mr *S*——*y* is, in Fact, General in planning the Operation of this Campaign also. How ridiculous then was this m——l Disposition in sending out the Commanders?

Commanders? Lord *Loudon* muſt, from the Nature of his Commiſſion, which ſuperſedes all others, be imagined ſuperior in every thing relative to the Commanding an Army, to all who were ſent before him; otherwiſe it is the greateſt Abſurdity to have ſent him at all; and yet by pure Subtilty of m——l Contrivance, he muſt neceſſarily be the leaſt acquainted with what he is to undertake, if he arrives Time enough for Action this Campaign; and bound to follow Operations already concerted by a Man proved unequal to the Undertaking, or remain on the defenſive. Is not this cunningly ſubjecting a Soldier and Man of Capacity to all the Inſufficiency of Underſtanding, in that very Perſon which was ſo much complained of in the Conduct of the laſt Summer's Campaign, and defeating the whole Expedition for this Year? Admirable Sagacity!

BESIDES this Inverſion of Wrong for Right, ſo natural to m——l Underſtandings, in ſending the Officers of higheſt Rank, it is to be obſerved, that even the inferior Officers of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, together with Arms, Ammunition, and other military Preparations, lie at this Time * at *Portſmouth*; and,

* The twelfth of *June*.

and, what is not a little extraordinary, the Muskets, and other military Weapons, lay a long while on the Wharfs, waiting for Tranſports, which were not then hired to take them on Board. I ſay nothing of the Sagacity of the m——l Conception, which ſhipped the Carriages of the Cannon on Board one Ship, the Cannon on another, the Ball on a third, and the Powder on a fourth; a Contrivance not eaſily to be parallelled in any Ad——n. Hence, by this Subtilty of Thought, the Chance of defeating the whole Expedition was increaſed as four to one; for, if each Article had been proportionably mixed in the Cargoes of the four Ships, the taking one Ship could have defeated but one fourth of the Intention, and ſo in Proportion; but, as it was deſigned, the taking one Ship renders the whole uſeleſs; how complaiſant are the M——s in all their Undertakings to your Enemies?

To this might be added the Five Hundred Barrels of Gun-Powder purchaſed untried of the *Dutch*, cunningly to prevent it's falling into our Enemies Hands; which, upon Experiment, proved as exploſive as Saw-Duſt.

THESE laſt mentioned Affairs, however, muſt be conſidered as below the Attention of M——s, whoſe Capacities are ſo different from the common, and are only a farther Confirmation of that great Faculty of rightly diſtinguiſhing and ſelecting Men, fit to be employed in all Situations under their Directions.

——————

IF Deficiency in the Supplies granted by Parliament had been the Cauſe of this Delay, and Inattention to the moſt valuable of all our foreign Poſſeſſions, much might have been offered in Vindication of a M——r, but, ſince our moſt Royal Maſter, our moſt Gracious Sovereign, in his moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne, has been pleaſed to thank his People for the vigorous and effectual Support, which has been granted him, what can be ſaid in Defence of Men, who have thus abſurdly applied it, ſhamefully neglecting the moſt important Object of this Kingdom. It would be ridiculous to name the Cauſe of this Delay; it muſt be aſſigned to that which no Man in *England* is weak enough not to perceive, the M——r excepted.

IF

If then ſuperior Knowledge of Mankind be neceſſary in a M——r, to direct him in his Choice of thoſe who are to act under him; from theſe Inſtances, not purpoſely ſelected, what Hopes remain in you of him who always, undeviating, appoints the leaſt qualified for the Task committed to their Care.

HAVING thus ſet before you the Deficiency in m——l Attention towards providing for the *American* Colonies, without the Commerce of which this Kingdom muſt ſoon languiſh into a total Decay, and ſhewn that even the trifling Succour hitherto deſigned ſince *Braddock's* Defeat, muſt by the Delay in ſending it be rendered ineffectual during this Summer; let me now turn your Eyes on what has been tranſacted in *Europe* during that Time, in Defence of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, together with another Dominion, not belonging to this Crown, and which to the preſent Minute has been no great Source of Acquiſition to this Nation.

IN Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-Five, during the Time which paſſed between the

Meſſage to both Houſes, and the Prorogation of P———t on the Twenty-eighth of *April*, no Addition was made to our Land-Forces: No Law paſſed to arm the Subjects of *Great Britain*, againſt any Invaſion from the *French*, a Neglect which there is too much Reaſon to fear, may one Day prove fatal to this Kingdom; but great Sums of Money were granted, and the equipping a reſpectable Navy engaged the whole Attention of the Adm——n.

His M——y having put an End to the Seſſion, the ſame Day, that no Time might be loſt, deſpiſing the Menaces, and Invaſions of the *French*, ſet out from *St James's*, greatly riſquing his Sacred Perſon, through Seas and Tempeſts, to provide for the Defence of his Dominions. During his Abſence, let us recollect what were the Occupations of the M——y at Home towards this Attainment: they were employed in committing Violences on your Liberties, depreſſing the Courage of Sailors by Compulſion, manning Fleets, which have been almoſt uſeleſs by their Deſtination, and leaving the Iſland open to the hourly Invaſion of the *French*, through Deficiency of domeſtic Force.

However,

HOWEVER, to the immortal Memory of the M——r, this Inattention at Home was amply recompenſed by his Care on the other Side the Water; two Treaties, ſuppoſed to be teeming with Advantages to this Nation, were concluded: One with the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, the other with the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*; the firſt ſigned at *Petersburgh*, the Thirtieth of *September* Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the other at *Hanover* the Eighteenth of *June* the ſame Year.

THE firſt Article with *Ruſſia*, confirms the Treaty concluded in Seventeen Hundred and Forty-four, by which the Empreſs agrees to furniſh the King of *Great Britain* with Ten Thouſand Infantry, and Two Thouſand Cavalry, if his M——y's Dominions ſhould be attacked, or with Five Hundred Thouſand Rubles in Money, yearly, during the Attack. Neither of which having been demanded during the laſt Rebellion in *Scotland*, it ſeems no unjuſt Inference to conclude, that that Treaty related to *H——r* only; otherwiſe, by what Argument ſhall we juſtify our M——y, who, during that Time of Peril and Expence, neglected to make the neceſſary Requiſition of

the Troops, or Money, in Favour of *England*, ſtipulated in the Treaty.

THESE Forces being deemed inſufficient in the preſent Emergency, it was thought prudent to increaſe the Number to Fifty-five Thouſand, Forty Thouſand of which, were to be Infantry, and Fifteen Thouſand Cavalry; added to this, Forty or Fifty Gallies were to hold themſelves in Readineſs, to act on the firſt Orders,

BESIDES what has been already ſaid, relating to the Treaty of Seventeen Hundred and Forty-five, which makes the Baſis of this, the fourth Article in the ſecond Treaty with *Ruſſia*, confirms it's being deſigned for the Defence of *H——r* only.

IT is there ſaid, that theſe Troops and Gallies ſhall not act except His *Britannic* Majeſty or his Allies are attacked; and then the commanding Officer, *as ſoon as* he ſhall receive His Majeſty's Requiſition, ſhall make a Diverſion with Thirty Thouſand Infantry, and the Fifteen Thouſand Cavalry; and at the ſame Time ſhall embark the other Ten Thouſand Infantry on Board the Gallies, in

order

order to make a Deſcent according to the Exigency of Affairs.

Now does not the ſecond Article, by agreeing, that thoſe Troops ſhall be held in Readineſs on the Frontiers of *Livonia*, and the Gallies cruiſing on that Coaſt, declare, the Intention to be that of invading the *Pruſſian* Territories, if the King of *Pruſſia* ſhall attempt any thing againſt the *H——n* Dominions; otherwiſe the Stipulation, that the commanding Officer ſhall make a Diverſion with Thirty Thouſand Infantry, and Fifteen Thouſand Cavalry, *as ſoon as* he ſhall receive His Majeſty's Requiſition, would appear a palpable Abſurdity; becauſe theſe Troops, which are to make this *immediate* Diverſion in Favour of His Majeſty, cannot march into *France* in much leſs Time than ſix Months, if ſhe ſhould invade this Iſland: this Diverſion then, to be put in Execution *as ſoon as* the Requiſition ſhall be made on the Part of *Great Britain*, cannot mean an Attack upon *France*; much leſs can their marching to the Aid of this Kingdom be the Intention of that Article, unleſs the ſame M——r, who, twelve Months ſince, did not know that *Cape Breton* is an Iſland, had not at the

Time

Time of concluding this Treaty heard that *Great Britain* is ſurrounded by the Ocean.

Besides this, Gallies being unfit Veſſels for tranſporting Troops on the Ocean, and the Circumſtance of being ordered to make a *Deſcent*, according to the Exigency of Affairs, with Ten Thouſand Forces, prove that theſe alſo were deſigned to aſſiſt the former Number, in whatever they ſhould attempt, and neither to invade *France*, nor ſuccour *England*. The Term *Deſcent*, being always underſtood in a hoſtile Senſe, cannot well be intended to ſignify their coming hither as Friends, and the Number is too ſmall to attempt an Undertaking of that Kind on the Shores of *France*.

In Conſequence of this Agreement then for the Defence of the E——l Dominions, the Empreſs of *Ruſſia* is to be paid by *Great Britain*, One Hundred Thouſand Pounds annually, during the Term of four Years in Times of Peace; and as ſoon as thoſe Troops ſhall paſs the Frontiers of her Country Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year: in Conſideration of this Augmentation of her Subſidy, the Empreſs is to take upon herſelf the Payment,

ment, Subſiſtence, and tranſporting her Troops, wherever they ſhall be ordered by *Great Britain*, and not to re-call them 'till the Expiration of the Treaty, though her own Dominions ſhould be attacked.

THIS Article of the Treaty is yet another Confirmation, that it excludes all Idea of the *Ruſſians* being ever intended to defend this Iſland; becauſe the Pay of an equal Number of *Britiſh* Troops, in the ſame Proportion of Horſe and Foot, would annually amount to One Million Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds; now is it poſſible to conceive, the *Ruſſian* Empreſs can have agreed to ſupport thoſe Forces in *England*, where Proviſions are dear, on leſs than a third Part of that Sum? and where the Pay of each national Soldier is but juſt ſufficient for his Subſiſtence. Would not this be a Kind of Compact to ſtarve her own Subjects? much leſs would ſhe oblige herſelf to the tranſporting them for the ſame Money, which Expence alone would conſume the whole Subſidy.

INDEED, by the eleventh, a truly Chriſtian Article, it is agreed, That the *Ruſſians* ſhall have full Liberty to plunder wherever they

they come; this auxiliary Conſideration, as they would not fail to put it in Execution, might probably prove an ample Recompence for the Smallneſs of their Pay, after their Arrival in *England*.

HOWEVER, as I think it my Duty to do Juſtice to all Mankind, weak as our m——l Leaders may be; it appears, I own, too rank a Contradiction, want of Capacity, and Inattention to their own Intereſt, to have made a poſitive Compact, that Foreign Troops ſhall interfere in the Occupation and Advantages peculiar to themſelves, of plundering the People of *E——d*.

WHEREFORE from this Article alone it ought to be concluded, that this Treaty was made ſolely for the Intereſt of *H——r*; and you the innocent Subjects of *E——d*, were thereby doomed to a more ſevere Fate, than the Almighty impoſed on your firſt Parents, who rebelled againſt his Will; ye muſt now not only get your own daily Bread by the Sweat of your Brows, but even labour for the Bread of others, who have no natural Claim on you, and with whom ye have no Connection, thus the Trade and

Toil

Toil of *Engliſhmen* muſt be annually employed, in gaining half a Million of Money for the ſole Eaſe and Safety of the Subjects of *H*——*r*.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe Proofs to the contrary, if any one chuſes to believe this Treaty included any immediate Reference to the aſſiſting this Kingdom of *G*—*t B*——*n*, he has my full Conſent, even then it will ſoon appear I imagine a ſmall Juſtification of m——l Proceedings.

AMONGST the many Precautions which all wiſe M——s have obſerved in concluding Treaties, there have been two from which they have never ſwerved; the Firſt is, that in all ſubſequent Treaties they have obſerved the ſtricteſt Care, that no Alliance with a weaker Potentate, ſhall defeat the Advantages of former Treaties made with a ſtronger; without attending to this Obſervation, M——s leſſen their Powers by every new Acquiſition of Allies, a Subtilty not much unlike the denying the Uſe of Arms to the Subjects of a Kingdom, for their own Defence during War, and truſting to hireling Foreigners.

THE Second is, that the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, which they ſuperintend, are to be the great Objects of all M——s in their Treaties with foreign Nations; without due Regard to this Obſervation, States, like Dupes at Play, become the beggared Object of Ridicule to all crowned Heads.

LET us now enquire, whether theſe two eſſential Maxims have been judiciouſly purſued by the M——s of *E——d*, in their Treaties with *Ruſſia*, *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and *Pruſſia*.

IN order the more clearly to effect this, we muſt place Things in the ſame Situation they were, before either of theſe Treaties was concluded.

BEFORE the Concluſion of the Treaty with the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, the M——s of *E——d* were under no ſmall Apprehenſions of the *Pruſſian's* laying hold of the growing Differences between *G—t B——n* and *France*, and poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome of the Electoral Dominions; this his Undertaking, though of no Diſadvantage to *G—t B——n*, might prove notwithſtanding a moſt embarraſſing

raſſing Circumſtance, if a War ſhould break out on the Continent, to the M——s of this Nation, whoſe conſtant Purſuit it has been to prefer the *H——n* to *B—ſh* Intereſts.

To diſengage themſelves from this Perplexity, it was thought neceſſary to conclude the Treaty as above ſpecified with *Ruſſia*; and indeed it muſt be acknowledged, that the Proſpect of Things by this new Alliance with *Ruſſia*, was greatly improved in reſpect to *H——r*; the *Pruſſian*, who before this ſubſidiary Treaty with the *Muſcovite*, had entertained ſanguine Hopes of enlarging his Dominions, was now reduced to fear leſt his own Territories might be diminiſhed by this new Alliance.

This Treaty then with *Ruſſia*, ſetting the Intereſt of this Iſland out of the Queſtion, which it has conſtantly been for this forty Years, whenever it came in Competition with that of *Germany*, was truly beneficial to the Electorate of *H——r*; it included the two Advantages abovementioned, of increaſing Power by Alliance for the People it was intended, and Honour to the M——s, if Men can merit ſuch Reward, who neglect

the Welfare of their own Country, to ſerve that of Foreigners.

THE Fifty-five Thouſand *Ruſſian* Troops, were undoubtedly an Augmentation of the Powers of *H——r* and it's Allies, as it ſubjected the *Pruſſian* King, their ſuſpected Foe, and whoſe Intereſts are as incompatible with the *Auſtrian*, as thoſe of Heaven and Hell, to no ſmall Terrors on account of *Sileſia*, if the Empreſs-Queen ſhould fix her Heart on repoſſeſſing that Gem, which had been plucked from her imperial Diadem, and which ſhe ſtill beholds with longing Eyes; at the ſame Time then, that the *Pruſſian*, by his Dread of the *Ruſſian* Arms, was rendered incapable of annoying the Ele——l Dominions; the Friendſhip between *H——r* and the Empreſs-Queen, who conſidered this Treaty as made in her Favour, was greatly ſtrengthened, particularly as the latter entertained Hopes of their being employed in her Service in the Recovery of *Sileſia*; if the *Pruſſian* ſhould intermeddle in the Quarrel between the King of *G—t B——n* and *France*; or in *Flanders*, if the *French* ſhould attack that Part of her Dominions: Thus the *Pruſſian* King, by means of this Treaty between

tween *G—t B——n* and *Ruſſia*, was placed in that very anxious Dilemma from which *H——r* had been juſt extricated.

THIS was the very Situation in which it was the Buſineſs of the *E—ſh* M——s to place and ſecure him, and to extricate himſelf as expeditiouſly as poſſible, was the great Object of the *Pruſſian*; let us now enquire which of theſe has ultimately attained the Ends of their Endeavours.

NO Man ſaw more perſpicuouſly than the *Pruſſian* Prince, how greatly the Scale of Advantages was turned in Favour of *H——r* and *Auſtria*, by the Treaty between *G—t B——n* and *Ruſſia*; he therefore ſet about deviſing ſome Means, by which to relieve himſelf from this diſquieting Dilemma; in Conſequence of which Deſign, from his own pure Inclination, without Overture from *E——d* it ſeems, he propoſes a Treaty between this Kingdom and *Pruſſia*, which was ſpeedily concluded.

AT this Time it was, that the mercenary Tongue-Pads were let looſe in Favour of the Wiſdom of our M——s in the *Ruſſian* Treaty:

Treaty: The ſalutary and humiliating Conſequences which it had produced on *Pruſſia*, and the beneficial Alliance which had been ſo long wiſhed, and at length completed between the two Crowns; let us now examine, whether this laſt Treaty with *Pruſſia* has been productive of all thoſe Bleſſings, which it was boaſted to have brought upon it's Wings; or whether like the Drone it has not brought the Sting only without the Honey.

The two moſt material Articles in this Treaty are, firſt, that *G—t B——n* with her Allies, and *Pruſſia*, ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other in endeavouring to keep all foreign Troops from entering the Empire.

The ſecond, that *Great Britain* ſhall pay Twenty Thouſand Pounds, as an Indemnification for the Captures of that Merchandize which was taken on board *Pruſſian* Bottoms, condemned and ſold during the laſt War; and in Return, that *Pruſſia* ſhall pay the *Sileſia* Loan.

And here it ſeems evident at firſt View, that the whole Benefit which might have accrued to the *Auſtrians*, and even to the *H——ns*,

H———ns, by this Alliance with *Ruſſia*, was defeated by this ſecond Treaty with *Pruſſia*. Becauſe, as by the *Ruſſian* Treaty the *B—ſh* M——r had agreed to employ the *Muſcovites* in the Empire of *Germany*, to the Aid and Intereſt of *H——r* and her Allies; in this with *Pruſſia*, he had moſt ſagaciouſly engaged to keep them from their Aſſiſtance. And thus thoſe Men, who valued themſelves ſo highly for concluding the Treaty with *Ruſſia*, to bring her Forces into *Germany*, were now artfully engaged by the King of *Pruſſia* to oppoſe the Entrance of the very Troops which they had hired in their Favour.

By this ſingle Article, did not the King of *Pruſſia* find himſelf quite extricated from all the Difficulties in which the *Ruſſian* Treaty had involved him?

If the Empreſs ſhould attack *Sileſia*, he had now no other Affair upon his Hands but that of oppoſing her Arms; becauſe the M——s of *G—t B——n* had by Treaty agreed to keep out the *Ruſſians*, and free him from Apprehenſions on that Side; from this Change of Circumſtances, the Empreſs-

Queen

Queen grew diſguſted with the *B—ſh* M——r; ſhe ſaw herſelf and her Intereſts deſerted, her Friendſhip and Alliance rejected, and renounced in Favour of a weaker Potentate: And from that Time, being convinced of the Weakneſs of the *B—ſh* M——r, entertained the Idea of ſeeking the Alliance of a ſtronger and wiſer Power: Thus *Pruſſia* has totally defeated the ſole Advantage, which the *Ruſſian* Treaty had given the States of *E——d* and *H——r* over him, and this Kingdom and the Electoral Dominions loſt the Uſe of the *Auſtrian* Powers, by preferring a weaker Alliance to a ſtronger.

Let us now ſuppoſe that *France*, notwithſtanding this Treaty between *G—t B——n* and *Pruſſia*, ſhould reſolve to attack the *H———n* Dominions, what Advantage can redound to that Electorate from this Convention between *G—t B——n* and *Pruſſia*, to oppoſe the Entrance of all foreign Troops into the Empire; will the M——s of this Iſle and thoſe of *H——r* rely on this Treaty with *Pruſſia*, and confide in the Forces of that Prince to prevent the *French* from invading the *H———n* Dominions; or if they ſhould entertain this Confidence, and act in Conſequence

quence of it, will the *Pruſſian* march his Army in their Defence, and give ſuch an Opportunity to the Empreſs-Queen of recovering *Sileſia*, whilſt he is deſerting his own Dominions, to fight the Battles of *H——r*.

I IMAGINE no Man believes, either that the M——rs would confide in *Pruſſia* on ſuch an Occaſion, or that King deſert his own Intereſts to follow thoſe of others.

IF the *French* then, notwithſtanding this Convention with *Pruſſia*, ſhould march towards the Territories of *H——r*, it ſeems evident that the *Ruſſians*, according to Treaty, muſt ſtill be invited to the Aſſiſtance of the Electoral Dominions; in ſuch a Caſe, of what contradictory and claſhing Circumſtances will the two Treaties appear to be compoſed.

THE Treaty with *Pruſſia* obliges the M——s to exclude the *Ruſſians*, and all Foreigners, from the *German* Empire; that with *Ruſſia*, to call them to the Aid of the Electorate into *Germany*.

THUS the *Ruſſian* Troops, which, by the Agreement with that Empreſs, are to come as Friends to the Aſſiſtance of *H——r*, are, by the Treaty with *Pruſſia*, to be oppoſed by thoſe very *H———ns*, as Enemies.

IN Conſequence of this Alliance with *Pruſſia*, if the *French* Forces ſhould march to invade the Electoral State, and the *Ruſſians* to defend it; at the Requiſition of our M——s, the *H———ns* are obliged by Compact to become ſo many Drawcanſirs, and kill both Friends and Foes.

BY the Alliance with *Pruſſia* they are engaged to keep out the *Ruſſians*; the Moment then the *Muſcovites* begin to march, according to Treaty, and the Requeſt of our M——r, to the Aſſiſtance of *H——r*, the Treaty with *Pruſſia* obliges the *H———ns* to divide their Troops with thoſe of that Monarch, and march one half to reſiſt the coming of their Allies the *Ruſſians*, and one half to reſiſt their Foes the *French*; what an illuſtrious Inſtance of refined and profound Politicks is here produced.

By this judicious Proceeding, our M——s have fairly diveſted the *H———ns* of the *Ruſſian* Aſſiſtance; for, if they rely on the Alliance with *Pruſſia*, the *Ruſſians* cannot act in their Favour, and if they claim the Aid of the *Ruſſians*, one half of the *H———n* Soldiers are, by Compact with *Pruſſia*, obliged to join and oppoſe the very Troops they call to their Aſſiſtance.

In this Manner, in Obedience to Treaty, the Electorate will be deprived of one half of her Troops wherewith to engage the *French*, becauſe they muſt be employed to oppoſe her Friends the *Ruſſians*.

This muſt be the neceſſary Conſequence of the Treaties with *Ruſſia* and *Pruſſia*, if both are put into Execution; for, unleſs the *H———ns* oppoſe the *Ruſſians* equally as the *French*, from entering the Empire, the *Pruſſian* is entirely diſengaged from all Obligation between him and the *B—ſh* M——s, and the *H———ns* are the firſt Infracters of the Treaty. Wherefore, as it is impoſſible, from the Nature of Things, that the *H———ns* can oppoſe the *Ruſſians*, which they have

called to their Aſſiſtance, it follows, that the *Pruſſian* cannot act at all, becauſe he would injure the *H———ns* more, in oppoſing the *Ruſſians*, by calling off one half of the Electoral Troops, than aſſiſt them in oppoſing the *French*.

THUS the Reſult of this boaſted Wiſdom of the M——r, in the Union between *G—t B——n* and *Pruſſia*, is at laſt no more than a dexterous Deliverance of the latter, from that Peril he was fallen into by the *Ruſſian* Treaty. He is at Eaſe from all the Fears which that Alliance had imparted on the Account of *Sileſia*; diſengaged from all Obligation in his Agreement with *E——d*, by the Abſurdity of our M——s, and the almoſt Impoſſibility of it's being put in Execution; and may not improbably, by virtue of this Alliance, be ſupported againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the very *Ruſſians* which our M——s originally had hired to oppoſe him.

HAVE they not then thus cunningly deprived themſelves of all the Advantages which the Treaty with *Ruſſia* had given them; have they not, by renouncing the *Auſtrian* Intereſt, diſpleaſed the Empreſs-Queen; and, by this

Alliance

Alliance with a weaker Power, rendered themſelves leſs able to reſiſt the *French* Arms in *Germany*; have they not united the Houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria*, after having ſpent Three Hundred Millions to keep them aſunder, and to ſupport the latter in oppoſition to the former; is it poſſible then that thoſe M——s, who have been ſo eaſily circumvented by the *Pruſſian* King, could ever have perceived the Force and Efficacy of that Treaty with *Ruſſia*? Ought not then the *Muſcovite* Alliance to be deemed the pure Effect of Chance or Malice (which the Article on plundering ſeems to inſinuate), as that with *Pruſſia*, the legitimate Child of Ignorance and Miſtake.

AFTER having, in the above Manner, ſhewn the Effects of the firſt Article in the *Pruſſian* Treaty, which, indeed, concerns the *H——n* Welfare immediately only, let us conſider the Conſequences of the ſecond Article with reſpect to *G—t B——n*, in which the *B—ſh* M——s agree to give Twenty Thouſand Pounds to the King of *Pruſſia*, in lieu of Merchandize taken on board *Pruſſian* Bottoms, condemned and ſold during laſt War; and that Prince to pay the

Subjects

Subjects of this Iſland the Remainder of the *Sileſia* Loan.

ABSURD as the firſt Article has been proved to be, this ſecond is not one Step behind it in Miſtake and Ridicule, and even before it in pernicious Conſequences; for as that firſt Article, by having united *Auſtria* and *France*, may now coſt this Iſland Two Millions of Money, in ſupporting the *Ruſſians* for the Intereſt of *Pruſſia*, if *Sileſia* ſhould be attacked: So the ſecond Article of the Agreement bids fair to deſtroy all the Commerce of *G—t B——n*, at leaſt all the Advantage ſhe can draw from a ſuperior Fleet in Time of War.

THE Merchandize repaid for by this Treaty was, what had been legally taken, condemned, and ſold. The Equity of this Proceeding had been defended, and our Right juſtified, in a Letter from the M——r to the *Pruſſian* Court; and much more ſo in a Memorial drawn by a Lawyer and Civilian, whoſe Eminence and Learning do Honour to this Nation. Nay, it was even aſſerted by theſe Men, that the Welfare and Exiſtence of this State, as a maritime Power, eſſentially depended

depended on our perſevering in our Right to theſe Captures; and this, I believe, is the Opinion of all Men of Underſtanding in the Nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, in Contradiction to all good Senſe and ſound Policy, Reſtitution for theſe Captures has been made to *Pruſſia*.

BY this Conceſſion, we either acknowledge that we have no Right to ſeize military Stores, deſigned for our Enemies, on board neutral Bottoms; that the Decrees of that Nation, on board whoſe Ships they are taken, are valid, though contradictory to thoſe made in the Courts of *G—t B——n*; or that our M——s are become ſuch timid and abject Wretches, that whatever crowned Head, however contemptible on the Seas, ſhall dare to diſpute the Legality of ſeizing and confiſcating ſuch Stores, ſhall be repaid whatever his Subjects may loſe.

I AM ſenſible the M——s aſſert, that this Twenty Thouſand Pounds was not given to the King of *Pruſſia* as an Indemnification for the Captures made laſt War, but becauſe they had

had a mind to preſent him ſo much of that Money, which you labour to procure for them to ſquander.

Is not this Anſwer to the full as childiſh as the Article is pernicious; like two Boys at School, where one gives the other Money not to be beaten, and yet inſiſts it was not through Fear but pure Love; does this excuſe him from the Imputation of Cowardice, or Change the Motive in the Opinion of his School-Fellows? Will not he be inſulted by all the others as much as if he had confeſſed the true Reaſon?

This illuſtrious Inſtance of want of Senſe and want of Reſolution muſt have an advantageous Tendency at the Eve of a War; will not the *Pruſſian* ſtill inſiſt upon the Right of carrying Stores in his Ships to your Enemies? Will not the *Dutch*, *Ruſſians*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, with all the other maritime States of *Europe*, demand, put in uſe, and ſupport the like Privileges for themſelves, which you have already granted to the *Pruſſian*? And, if you oppoſe this Liberty, will not your Captures of their Ships, however legal, draw the Reſentment and Arms of all *Europe* upon you?

WHAT then is the Advantage of the Payment of the *Sileſia* Loan, when compared to the dreadful Conſequences of this Conceſſion? How will you now diſtreſs effectually the Commerce of your Enemies, if your M——s permit neutral Ships to tranſport and traffick, not only in the common Produce and Merchandize of *France* and her Colonies, but even in military Stores, to the Deſtruction of all your Trade and Security? Will you longer vaunt your Empire of the Ocean?

THUS then, as by the former Article, the M——s of this K——m had effectually deſtroyed the good Effects of the *Ruſſian* Treaty with reſpect to *H——r*, in this they have given a fatal Wound to the Intereſt and Honour of *G—t B——n*. Deſtined, as ye are, to labour for *German* Welfare, how will ye ſupport the Expence of thoſe Millions which it muſt coſt, when the Source of all your Riches, your Trade, is deſtroyed?

NOW let me ask thoſe hireling Trumpeters of the m——l Wiſdom in concluding the *Pruſſian* Treaty, What are the boaſted Advantages which are derived from it to this

Kingdom? is the Concluſion ſtronger in Favour of m——l Wiſdom or m——l Weakneſs? and what has this Nation to expect under the Direction of ſuch penetrating and all-ſeeing M——s, who have, by two Articles in one Treaty, driven *Auſtria* from their Intereſt, united her with *France*, adopted the weak Alliance of *Pruſſia*, laid *H——r* open to *French* Invaſion, deſtroyed the Commerce of *G—t B——n*, and rendered our Arms and Councils contemptible in the Opinion of all *Europe*?

HAVING thus, in ſome degree, explained the pernicious Effects of the *Pruſſian* Treaty, let us examine what Advantages are likely to be derived to this Kingdom from that with *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and what are the Merits of the M——r in making it, and behaving in Conſequence of it's Concluſion.

THE great Object of this Treaty is, that either Eight or Twelve Thouſand Troops, as *G—t B——n* ſhall require, of which the ſixth Part is to be Horſe, are to be furniſhed by the Landgrave of *Heſſe* for this Kingdom or her Allies, and to be paid for by *E——d* only.

Now,

Now, as increaſing the Strength and ſuſtaining the Honour of a Nation ſhould always make the great Objects of a M——r in his Treaties with foreign Nations; ſo Frugality in ſupporting and complying with them in the Management of the publick Money, ſhould ever be inſeparable from every Article.

Let us ſee whether this laſt Duty of publick Parſimony has been more cloſely purſued in the Alliance with *Heſſe*, than thoſe of Power and Honour were obſerved by that with *Pruſſia*.

By the fifth Article it is agreed, that every Trooper ſhall firſt be purchaſed at about Twenty Pounds Sterling, and every Foot-Soldier at about Seven Pounds; which, in all, makes about a Hundred and Twelve Thouſand Pounds Levy-Money; beſides this, the Landgrave is to have about Thirty-ſeven Thouſand Pounds annually before the Troops march; and, as ſoon as they march, he is to receive Seventy-four Thouſand Pounds annually, 'till they enter into Pay according to that of *H——r* or *E——d*; at which Time, the Subſidy returns to about Thirty-ſeven

Thouſand Pounds annually; which again, when the Troops are ſent back, is to return to Seventy-four Thouſand Pounds a Year, during the whole Duration of the Treaty, which is four Years.

In the mean Time, whatever Men or Horſes die by Diſeaſe, or are killed in Battle, the Beaſt is to be paid for at double the Price of the human Being; a bleſſed Conſideration for the Subjects of *German* Princes!

In like Manner, whatever Arms or Artillery ſhall be found deficient, or taken by the Enemy, a full Recompence is to be made by *G—t B——n* to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*.

By the tenth Article, theſe Troops ſhall be inſtantly ſent back whenever the Dominions of the Landgrave ſhall be attacked.

Let us now, in Obedience to the Inclinations of the M——r, allow that the *Ruſſians* as well as the *Heſſians* were by Treaty obliged to come to the Aſſiſtance of *G—t B——n*: it being at length determined that *France* would certainly invade this Iſland; that the *B—ſh* Forces were unequal to the

repelling a hoſtile Invaſion; that the Subjects of *E——d* ſhould not be armed in the Defence of themſelves, their King, and Country; and that foreign Mercenaries were neceſſary for our Protection and Safety; Let us then explain with what admirable Fore-thought, Prudence and Oeconomy, the M——s have proceeded with reſpect to the Security of this Land in the Requiſition of Troops, according to the two Treaties.

FIFTY-FIVE Thouſand Troops are, by Compact with *Ruſſia*, to be ſent by the Empreſs of that Nation to aſſiſt *England*; theſe Forces ſhe is to tranſport and ſuſtain for the annual Subſidy of Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds, without any farther Conſideration for Death of Men and Horſes, or Loſs of military Stores, and no Return of them is to take Place during four Years, if the *Ruſſian's* Dominions ſhould be hoſtilely invaded.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe Conditions of this Treaty are ſo favourable in Price and Frugality, no Requiſition of *Ruſſians* has been made in behalf of *G—t B——n*, but Eight Thouſand *Heſſians* are brought into *England*, the Expence of which will amount this Year,

as

as the M——s confeſs, including Levy-Money, Subſidy to the Landgrave, Death of Men and Horſes, tranſporting hither and back again, and Pay, to a Million Sterling.

THUS this military Aid in *Heſſians*, coſting double the Money that ſeven times that Aſſiſtance would have done in *Ruſſians*, is fourteen times as expenſive; a plain Proof how different the Bargains are which are made between this Nation and the *Germans*, and this Nation and *Ruſſians*; and how much Oeconomy in the publick Money, and the Defence of this Iſland, enter into the Tranſactions of the M——r with *German* Princes.

ONE Article of Frugality in the publick Money muſt not be omitted. Amongſt the Troops landed in *E——d*, there are about Nine Hundred Horſes, which, one with another, are not worth more than four Pounds a Piece; notwithſtanding which, each of theſe Horſes has already coſt about twelve Pounds Levy-Money, and nine Pounds in being tranſported hither; after this, twelve Pounds more is to be paid for each Horſe which dies in the Iſland; thus every dead *Heſſian* Horſe will coſt this Nation Thirty-three Pounds, eight

times the real Value, and becomes to the Landgrave worth three times more dead than alive. Is it not then the Intereſt of the Landgrave, and the Duty of the commanding Officer, to take ſpecial Care that none of theſe Cattle ever reviſit their native Land; however, if any of them ſhould ſurvive, nine Pounds more are to be paid for the Re-tranſportation of each; thus the Hire of every *Heſſian* Horſe, worth four Pounds, will then be only thirty Pounds Expence to you; not quite eight times his Value.

FROM this Article may it not be juſtly inferred, that our M——s are as unskilled in Beaſts as Men, and that this Kingdom is the beſt Market for *German* Carrion in all *Europe*.

ANOTHER Advantage attending the *Ruſſian* Treaty, not to be found in the *Heſſian*, beſides the Number and Cheapneſs, is, that the *Ruſſians* are by Agreement obliged to remain here to your Aſſiſtance, though the Empreſs, their Miſtreſs, ſhould be attacked.

Now, ſuppoſe the Empreſs-Queen of *Hungary*, ſupported by this Alliance with *France*, ſhould

ſhould invade *Sileſia*; no improbable Event, if the Articles ſaid to be in the Treaty between thoſe two Powers are true; and at the ſame Time the *French* ſhould attack the Dominions of *H——r* or *Heſſe*, will not this Iſland be then inſtantly diveſted of all foreign Aſſiſtance from *Heſſians*, as theſe Troops muſt inſtantly return to the Defence of their Prince: Thus, as well in Uſe as in Oeconomy, the m——l Choice of *Heſſians*, who cannot tarry to your Aid, in preference to *Ruſſians*, who are engaged to, is moſt egregiouſly conſpicuous and diſadvantageous to this Kingdom.

This Miſtake, or ſomething more criminal, in preferring the Aid of Eight Thouſand *Heſſians* to Fifty-five Thouſand *Ruſſians*; and waſting a Million of Money for the ſeventh Part of the Aſſiſtance, which may be rendered uſeleſs alſo, one would have imagined might have been ſufficient to give the M——s an Intimation of their Error in the Application of the Treaties. Nothing appears to be leſs true, it being conceived that the Kingdom was not yet ſufficiently protected from *French* Invaſion: It was agreed to requeſt the El——r of *H——r*, your dear Ally, that he would be graciouſly diſpoſed

to

to ſave this Nation, by aſſiſting the K—g of *G—t B——n* with Eight Thouſand of his Troops.

HERE again the *Ruſſian* Treaty was totally neglected; it was judged more eligible to apply for *H——ns*, at a freſh Expence, than to make a Requiſition of the *Ruſſian* Troops. In Conſequence of this Opinion, the P——t requeſted, and the Kingdom was favoured with Eight Thouſand *H——n* Forces, which are ſince arrived. Does not this Proceeding afford a freſh Inſtance of m——l Profuſion; for though the Sum granted on this Account, is vaſtly ſhort of what the M——s confeſs will be the Expence of the *Heſſians*, without the Gift of Prophecy one may venture to predict, that, at the Concluſion, when the Application of the Million, granted by Vote of Credit, comes to be ſpecified, this Expence will be equal to that of the *Heſſians*; becauſe I am convinced, the great Wiſdom and Knowledge of the E——r of *H——r*, in concluding all ſubſidiary Treaties, is in no Senſe inferior to that of the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*. According to this way of reaſoning, Eight Thouſand *Heſſians* and Eight Thou-

ſand *H———ns* may coſt Two Millions of Money; four times the Sum of almoſt four times the Number of *Ruſſians*. Add to this, the Probability of the *H———ns* being leſs liable to tarry to your Aſſiſtance than the *Ruſſians*, as *H——r* will more likely be attacked than *Heſſe*, it may not improbably happen, that theſe Two Millions will be uſeleſsly waſted in Subſidies and other Expences on foreign Troops, which cannot be of Service in protecting *G—t B——n*, whilſt thoſe that might be are entirely neglected and unrequeſted.

It was expected indeed, by every ſenſible and honeſt *Engliſhman*, that as the *Ruſſians* were now viſibly hired for the Defence of *H——r* only, that the *H———ns* were to come hither in lieu of thoſe *Ruſſians*; and that, as *G—t B——n* now paid Fifty-five Thouſand *Muſcovite* Forces to defend the Ele——te, that the Eight Thouſand *H——ns* were to be at the ſame Expence by way of Exchange to protect *E——d*.

This Suggeſtion, however reaſonable it may ſeem, proves by no means true in the Event, for not only the *H———ns* as well

as

as *Ruſſians* are paid by *G—t B——n*, but there is too much Cauſe to ſuſpect, that yet another Bargain is concluded for Eight Thouſand *Holſteiners*, ſince even the M——r had not the Hardineſs to contradict that Aſſertion, when he was called upon, to be paid for with *B—ſh* Money, that *H——r* may loſe no Defence by the Abſence of thoſe Troops which are arrived to the Aſſiſtance of *E——d*; what a ſtupendous Inſtance is this, again, of m——l Profuſion in Favour of *German* States and neglect of *E——ſh*: Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds annual Subſidy to *Ruſſia*, added to a Million for *H——ns* tack'd to half that Sum, ſuppoſe for *Holſteiners*, make Two Millions of Money for the feeble Succour of Eight Thouſand *H——ns*, to be paid by *E——d*, which Troops after all, it is probable, may not tarry four Months for the Protection of this Iſland.

THUS the preferring *Heſſians* to *Ruſſians* at fourteen times the Expence, is here again doubled, and the Eight Thouſand *H——ns* are choſen at the Proportion of Twenty-eight times the Coſt which was agreed to be given for the *Ruſſians*.

In this Manner, the Servants of the Publick, the Guardians of your Liberties and Properties, the M——rs, have made three Conventions in the Place of one, neither of which by this happy Contrivance will probably be of the leaſt Importance or Security to this Iſland, unleſs rendering you poor and deſpicable, and dooming your Hands to triple Labour, for raiſing Money to pay theſe foreign Mercenaries, be a publick Benefit to this K——m.

Mistaken, abſurd, and profuſe as this Requiſition of *H———ns* and *Heſſians*, in preference to *Ruſſians*, may appear to be, it is not yet by Ten Thouſand Degrees, equally pernicious in it's Effects with that Reſolution, which has been taken againſt permitting you, Natives of *E——d*, to protect yourſelves, your King, and Country.

By this Act, the M——rs have ſubjected you, either to the Invaſion of your Enemies, or the arbitrary Will of mercenary Troops, invited hither under the Notion of protecting you.

The

THE Militia-Bill, that neceſſary Law deviſed for entruſting Arms to your Hands, had for it's Objects the moſt laudable Motives; Defence for yourſelves, your S——n, and your Country.

THE Security of theſe, was to have been effectuated by a Militia, conſiſting of Sixty-two Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty Men, levied, cloathed, and paid by the trifling Sum of One Hundred Seventy-five Thouſand, One Hundred Ninety-ſeven Pounds, and which the ſucceeding Year, would not have amounted to two Thirds of that Money; eight times the Defence of the *H——n* Forces, and yet not one tenth Part of the Expence; including alſo in it's Favour, what no Sums of Money can purchaſe, the Love of their King and Country, animated by the Defence of their Wives, Children, and Properties.

THIS Meaſure, ſo neceſſary in itſelf, which would have rendered you at the ſame Time free from the Fears of hoſtile Invaſion, and the Conqueſt of mercenary and pretended Friends: This Meaſure, reputable for the Subject, parſimonious of publick Money, honourable

honourable to the M——r, glorious to the K—g, ſalutary to the Conſtitution, and beneficial to the Country, was rejected for Inattention, Profuſion, Diſgrace, Diſhonour, Inſecurity, and Ruin; Freemen gave way to Slaves, *Britons* to Foreigners, Liberty to Thraldom: Is there then the Boſom of one *Engliſhman*, which ſtill remains unwounded with the Idea of this ignominious Treatment? accuſed as ye are of Cowardice or Disloyalty; Cowardice, if your Loyalty is unſuſpected; Disloyalty, if ye are yet eſteemed a brave Nation; Disloyalty to ſuch a S——n, as 'till this Reign has never filled the Throne of *E——d*. For what other Reaſons can Arms be withheld from your Hands?

SINCE then your Hands are denied the Uſe of Arms, ſtretch them empty as they are to Heaven, though impotent with Men, they may yet be prevalent before the Almighty; ye are not yet denied the Privilege of Prayer, implore him to have that Mercy on the *B—ſh* Subjects which the M——rs have refuſed, that ſince by Miſconduct, Want of Underſtanding, or Iniquity, they have driven every powerful State in *Europe* from your Alliance, and by Profuſion and Denial of Arms rendered

rendered you incapable of fighting for your Prince, that Heaven of it's all gracious Favour will be pleaſed to preſerve and protect him, yet to reign over ye a Free and Happy People; by this Means alone it ſeems poſſible, that ye can be extricated from the numberleſs Perils which ſurround you.

HAVING now, in ſome Degree, placed the Conduct of the M——rs in it's juſt Light, as it reſpects their Behaviour in providing for *America*, *H——r*, and *G—t B——n*, by Land-Armies and Treaties: let me turn your Eyes on the Adminiſtration of naval Affairs, and candidly examine, whether Symptoms of a more extenſive Capacity and greater Prudence have appeared in conducting this Part of the m——l Province, than in the former.

IN *January* Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the Preſs for manning the *B—ſh* Fleet began with great Violence; ſcarce any Age or Quality preſerved the brave Seamen from this Violation of *B—ſh* Liberty; every Dock-Yard reſounded with innumerable Strokes of Axes, caulking Hammers, ſcreaking Tackles, and Cries of Workmen; Pitch, Tarr, and Uproar, filled the Towns of *Chatham*, *Portſmouth*, and

and *Plymouth*; Diſpatch, Panegyrick, and my Lord ———, were united in the Mouths of all Men! No Time could furniſh an Inſtance of ſuch Capacity in the Head of the Ad—— as the preſent, and even the Diligence of Mr ——— at *Plymouth* Dock, who had moſt amazingly, by Means of thirty Coopers, made a Hundred Tons of Cask in twenty-four Hours, to ſupply Admiral *Boſcawen's* Fleet, was attributed to the great Sagacity and Foreſight of this great M——r in naval Affairs.

And indeed it muſt be acknowledged, that the Merit of this Expedition in Cask-making of the Agent-Victualler at *Plymouth* Dock, was as much due to this great naval M——r (of which he knew nothing 'till it was compleated) as any other Part of marine Preparation.

The Officers who preſide in the King's Yards, have indeed a juſt Claim to the Praiſe of this Kingdom for their Diligence in equiping Ships of War; to them and to the great Quantity of naval Stores long laid in, it was owing that Ships were ſo ſpeedily prepared for the Sea; for which Reaſon, my ſacrilegious Hand

Hand ſhall never rob the Cottage of the deſerving Man in Low-Life to decorate the Palace of the undeſerving, to whom Chance has given Riches and Titles; or erect a Trophy to a L—d from Spoils which common Men have won.

A PARROT which could have pronounced by Authority, Equip ten Ships at *Chatham*, ten at *Portſmouth*, and ten at *Plymouth*, would as effectually and as ſpeedily have produced a Fleet ready for the Seas as the Voice of the firſt L—d of the Ad——y, and deſerved as great an Encomium for the Tranſaction.

THE Completion of the Buſineſs was effected where he was not preſent, without one new Invention, uncommon Exertion, or peculiar Attention of the Underſtanding; and which after the Order had eſcaped his Lips, whether he had been aſleep or awake, dreaming or pretending to think, in his eaſy Chair or on Horſeback, would have been equally compleated in the ſame Time.

LET us now examine, whether the Man who has in this Manner been extolled to the

Skies, as the beſt adapted for naval Ad——n, by the Merits of Boatſwains, Gunners, Shipwrights, and Dock-Officers, and what he did not perform, has proved himſelf, in the Execution of thoſe Duties which belong to him in chief, equal to the Poſt in which he has preſided; and deſerving that Applauſe, which in the Beginning was ſo liberally beſtowed upon him. To accompliſh this, permit me to enquire in what Manner, and to what Purpoſe, the Fleets of *E——d* have been diſpoſed and deſtined, ſince the firſt naval Preparations in *January* Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five.

THE firſt Inſtance in which the great Knowledge of this Preſident in maritime Ad———n was exhibited to the Publick, was in that Expedition in which Mr *Boſcowen* was ordered to intercept the *French* Fleet, deſigned to carry and convoy Stores to the Aſſiſtance of *Canada*: The whole of this remarkable Exhibition of Knowledge in marine Affairs, has been already explained in a firſt Letter to the People of *E——d*; in which it has been proved, that the Number of the Enemy's Ships was unknown to our Ad——— or not attended to; that our Fleet was inſufficient to the Undertaking, if the

Deſtination

Deſtination of it had been, as it ought, before *Breſt*; becauſe *Macnamara's* Squadron was ſuperior to the *Engliſh* at his leaving that Port: For the ſame Reaſon, had he continued his Voyage to *America*, Mr *Boſcowen* and Mr *Holbourne*, by the Weakneſs and Diviſion of their Fleets, would probably have fallen a Prey to that of the *French*; and even as it did happen, though the Fleet of *France* was rendered inferior to that of Mr *Boſcowen* by Mr *Macnamara's* Return to *Breſt*, all Power of reaping any conſiderable Advantage from it was defeated by the *Engliſh* Fleet, being deſtined to cruize on the Banks of *Newfoundland* in thoſe Months when that Station is covered with one general Fog and Darkneſs.

The *French* Fleet being arrived in the River *St Lawrence*, without any Injury which could defeat the Purport of their Undertaking, the ſame Genius which had ſo manifeſtly erred in the Diſpoſition of every Article in Mr *Boſcowen's* Voyage, was now determined to make ample Atonement to his Country for this Deficiency of Judgment, and by diſtributing the *E—ſh* Fleet in ſuch a Manner, that not a *French* Ship of War ſhould eſcape it in her Return to *France*, demon-

ſtrate that he was yet equal to the ſupreme Conduct of the *E—ſh* Navy.

Mr *Boſcowen* being ordered home, Mr *Holbourne* was commanded to cruize between Cape *Breton* and the South Weſtern Parts of *Newfoundland*, to intercept the *French* Fleet returning from the River *St Lawrence*, which Service he punctually performed. Now it was that the m——l Advocates were extreamly clamorous in their Panegyricks on the Deſtination of this Fleet, and him who had ordered it; notwithſtanding which, it ſeems impoſſible to omit obſerving the Paralellarity of Judgment in this Affair, between our Firſt —— of the Ad—— and a Juſtice of Peace in the Weſtern Parts of *England*.

It ſeems ſome time laſt Summer, a Thief who had robbed, and been apprehended, a deſperate Fellow, had eſcaped from before the Juſtice, and flying to another Houſe had bolted the Door, and ſecured himſelf in one Room of it; the Conſtable, who had followed to this Retreat, knowing the Raſhneſs of the Man, and the Nature of this Situation, conceived no ſmall Apprehenſions of Danger in attacking him in that Place; he therefore with

with great Prudence acquainted his Worſhip with the Circumſtances of the Affair; the Juſtice, after mature Deliberation, wiſely conſidered it was impoſſible that the Thief, was he ever ſo brave, through want of Proviſion and other Neceſſaries, could long remain in that Poſt; he therefore ordered the Siege to be turned into a Blockade, and bad the Conſtable and his Aſſiſtants to arrive before the Door; Watch the Door, Tom, ſays his Worſhip to the Conſtable, through that Door he muſt come, therefore mind the Door, and he cannot poſſibly eſcape us.

THIS being reſolved on, nothing could be more *alert* than the Conſtable, and no Men *in higher Spirits* than the Gang; the Commander, as ſoon as it was dark, placed a Lanthorn and Candle at the Door to ſee all that might paſs from or to the Houſe, and during the whole Night moſt manfully with his Aſſociates ſtood on his Arms, ready prepared with his Staff in his Hand, happily to demoliſh the Thief the Moment he ſhould pretend to ſally and eſcape him.

THIS Duty being performed through the Length of two whole Days and two whole Nights,

Nights, the Juſtice in momentary Expectation of hearing that the Thief was taken, and the Conſtable haranguing the Mob, which attended on the Thief's Perſeverance; at the ſame time wondering, that he had not been obliged to ſurrender through Drought and Hunger; when an old Acquaintance of the Beſieged arrived with Intelligence, that he had met the Thief the firſt Morning after his Confinement, at the break of Day, twenty Miles from that very Houſe in which the Juſtice had to that Moment imagined he was cloſely ſhut up: In fact, the ſagacious Head of the Juſtice had never conceived, that, notwithſtanding a Door may be bolted ever ſo ſtrong and watched ever ſo diligently, that a Man might get out at the Window, as it really happened in this very Caſe.

In like Manner, whilſt Mr *H——ne*, according to the Orders of his Superior, was cruizing at the Door between *Newfoundland* and Cape *Breton*, and the marine M——r believed *Dubois de la Mothe* ſtill confined and ſtarving in the River *St Lawrence*, that ſly *Frenchman* ſlipt through the Window, between the northern Parts of *Newfoundland* and the Continent, by the Streights of *Belleiſle*, unſuſpected

unſuſpected by the penetrating Spirit of our firſt D——r in marine Affairs; ſo that he heard *De la Mothe* and his Squadron were ſafely arrived at *Breſt*, before he knew he had quitted the River *St Lawrence*.

THUS then, in the Conduct of this naval Tranſaction, there are to be found five very conſpicuous Inſtances of moſt conſummate Ignorance; firſt the Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Ships; ſecondly the Inſufficiency of the *Engliſh* Fleet; thirdly, their not being ordered to cruize before *Breſt*; fourthly, their being ordered to cruize where they could not ſee their Enemy; and fifthly, to cruize between *Newfoundland* and Cape *Breton*, to intercept a Fleet which did not paſs that way.

THIS Juſtice, however, muſt be done the marine M——r to his Honour; the firſt Ignorance of a proper Station for cruizing, preſerved the *Engliſh* Fleet from the Danger of the laſt Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, and Inſufficiency of our own.

NOTWITHSTANDING this uniform Concatenation of Errors, there are thoſe who attempt

attempt to juſtify this Conduct, by ſaying it was impoſſible for Mr *Holbourne's* Fleet to attempt intercepting *De la Motbe's* in both Paſſages, becauſe his Squadron was not ſufficiently ſtrong to ſuffer a Diviſion for that Purpoſe? Why then did the marine M——r expoſe himſelf to Ridicule, in attempting to do that which he ought to have known muſt have proved ineffectual, and riſque the Deſtruction of his Maſter's Ships, by Rocks and Tempeſts in thoſe Seas where they could meet no Adverſary and do no Service; did my Lord *Winchelſea* ever conceive ſo fruitleſs an Attempt, or commit ſo egregious a Miſtake.

HENCE then it may be gathered, that if hereafter any naval Captain, indulged with five Ships, at the Expence of Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds of the Nation's Money, to make a Fortune for himſelf, ſhall ſail round the Globe, and by the very utmoſt Effort of all poſſible Chances, like throwing twenty Aces on twenty Dice the firſt time, take a Ship worth a Million of Money for his and his Company's Advantage; that though he does not ſurround a weaker Man than himſelf, he may yet preſide and direct the whole Navy of *E——d* to the Ruin of the Kingdom.

SUCH

Such *Fatality*, according to the present fashionable Phrase of Excuse, having attended the Conduct of this naval Expedition in every Particular; A *Fatality* doomed to attend insufficient Judgments nine times in ten, since the Creation! A fresh Instance offers itself, of reinstating our marine M——r in the popular Opinion, which began greatly to decline in his Favour.

It seems Monsieur *Du Guay*, a *French* Admiral, was arrived at *Cadiz*, with six Ships of the Line in his Way to *Brest*; this Admiral, and this Squadron, the same naval Genius, who had so wisely destined the former Fleet of *E——d*, was determined to intercept.

He remembered the Errors which had been imputed to his Charge in the Destination of *Boscawen's* Fleet, Insufficiency in Force, and wrong Appointment in the Station of cruizing; he was therefore determined to avoid these two Mistakes, at least at this Time; accordingly on the Eighteenth of *July* Mr *Hawke*, with eighteen Sail of the Line, was sent to intercept the six *French* Ships under the Command of *Du Guay*, and with

this whole Fleet, ſo ſuperior to the Enemy, to cruize off Cape *Finiſterre*, 'till the *French* Ships ſhould appear.

THIS Exploit again was trumpeted forth by m——l Hirelings, as an inſuperable Proof of great marine Knowledge in the Director; the Station was happily choſen, the Number of the Ships ſufficient, and the Game ſure; here was nothing for the moſt malevolent Diſpoſition to blame: Envy muſt now be dumb, or if it ſpoke, ſpeak in the Praiſe of this Deſign; and yet a Miſtake much like the former in it's Conſequences prevailed alſo at this Time, and in this Manner it muſt prevail, when Deſigns miſcarry, not from Accidents, for which Men of Senſe may be pardoned in not foreſeeing, but from radical Inſufficiency and Underſtanding.

IT ſeems that the ſame Head, which had conceived that there was but one way of ſailing from *Canada* to *Breſt*, and had never thought of the Streights of *Belleiſle*; had in this Place, imagined the Sea like *Hounſlow* Heath, where a Man may ſit on Horſeback on one Side and ſee what paſſes on the other, and that all Ships which are ſteering to *Breſt* from

from *Cadiz*, are obliged to turn the Corner at Cape *Finiſterre*, like Race-Horſes at a Poſt, or loſe their Voyage. Probably this great naval M——r had reaſoned much in the following Manner; all Ships, which have no Enemy to fear or avoid, in their Courſe from *Cadiz* to *Breſt*, make Cape *Finiſterre*; wherefore, every Ship which knows there is an Enemy in the way, and has Reaſon to be under Apprehenſion of Danger, will certainly ſail the ſame Way; and therefore Mr *Hawke* ſhall be deſtined to cruize off Cape *Finiſterre* to intercept them. Admirable Inſtance of Sea-Logick; without reaſoning in this Manner, is it poſſible he could have deſtined the Fleet as he did?

Monsieur *Du Guay*, however, it ſeems from the ſame Principles drew Inferences diametrically oppoſite; and in order to avoid the uſual Courſe which is ſteered from *Cadiz* to *Breſt*, ſailed directly Weſt from *Spain* into the *Atlantick* Ocean; when being at a great Diſtance from the Coaſt, he changed his Courſe, and ſtood directly for the Land's End of *E——d*; by this Precaution of ſailing Weſt to a great Diſtance before he ſteered towards the Channel, he paſſed on the Outſide

of all our Fleet, cruizing at Cape *Finiſterre*; and arriving ſafely in the Channel, fell in behind it with his Squadron, and got ſafe into the Harbour of *Breſt*.

SUCH was the Event of this ſecond Exhibition of boaſted marine Knowledge, avoiding the Errors of the former Conduct generated the very Miſcarriage of this; and ſo it will for ever happen to Men, who fancy that by ſhunning the Miſtakes of paſſed Management they ſhall ſucceed in the preſent; whoever does not intuitively diſtinguiſh Right from Wrong in the Conduct of great Affairs, can never be ſucceſsful by judging from Parallellarity; becauſe, as in theſe two Inſtances, though Ships, Seas, and the directing their Stations, may be the whole Concern in each; yet the Similarity in theſe Objects create no Reaſon, either to avoid Miſtakes or purſue the Advantages of a prior Deſtination, where there is no Reſemblance of Circumſtances in the Undertaking; and no two can be ſufficiently ſimilar, or ſufficiently unlike, to juſtify a parallel or oppoſite Conduct, in any Director of them.

THE Duke *du Vallard*, as I have been informed by a Gentleman who thoroughly underſtands

derſtands military Affairs, made the ſame Diſpoſitions at *Blenheim*, that the great *Guſtavus Adolphus* had done at the famous Battle which he won againſt *Valſtein*, yet the *French* General was defeated, and the *Engliſh* triumphed. No Circumſtances can be ſufficiently alike to juſtify ſimilar Proceedings in Men who are to direct; Imitators want Force of Underſtanding to penetrate, purſue, and put in Action that which the original Contrivers had conceived in various ways in laying down their Plan. They are Mimicks of what was done, without comprehending the whole Force of what might have been done: Wherefore, in the Progreſs of an Action planned in Imitation of another, when the Circumſtances vary from the former, not ſeeing the Reaſon of the Deſign, they are unequal to the ſupplying what the original Contriver would eaſily have afforded; knowing no more than the Hiſtorian has delivered, they follow ſervilely like Copyiſts, and are defeated. Had this marine M——r, in his Deſtinations of theſe naval Expeditions, judged from original Lights and Principles, he muſt certainly have imagined, that *Du Guay* would have avoided the beaten Track in Times of Peace; he would therefore have

divided

divided Mr *Hawke's* Squadron into two equal Parts, which making nine in each Squadron, would have been ſtill three to two, a proper and ſuperior Force wherewith to oppoſe Monſieur *Du Guay*; theſe, attended with ſmaller Ships to have been uſed as Scouts, by cruizing off Cape *Finiſterre*, and in the other Station through which the *French* Squadron paſſed, there being but theſe two Ways of ſteering their Courſes, without great ill Luck, at leaſt without Blame to the Planner of the Cruize, muſt have intercepted the *French* Fleet in it's coming to *Breſt*, and brought their Ships into *Engliſh* Harbours.

THIS however not being done, proves that the flying from Error on one Side, drives weak Minds into an equal Miſtake in the oppoſite Extreme, as young Spendthrifts frequently become old Miſers.

NOR is it in Matters of great Moment only this Inſufficiency of Conduct appears, the Sloop which carried the Field-Equipage belonging to the Officers of *Otway's* Regiment from *London* to *Plymouth*, becauſe the Tranſports were ſailed before ſhe arrived at that Port,

Port, was obliged to wait for Orders to follow them.

THE Tranſports which the M——r had cunningly ſent to bring the *Dutch* Troops over, before he knew they would come, like a Booby who ſeeks a Midwife before his Wife is with Child, after their fruitleſs and expenſive Stay in *Holland*, ſailed for the *Heſſians*, when it was firſt diſcovered that no Orders from the Ad——— had been tranſmitted to juſtify the taking theſe Troops on board. This Neglect created this expenſive Delay, 'till a Letter could come from and return to that Part of *Europe*; nay, even the *H———ns*, ſo very dear to this Nation, were permitted to ſail hither without Convoy, ſo that two Twenty-Gun Ships of *France*, might have carried them all into *Dunkirk* with great Facility.

THE Superintendency of our Iſlands in *America*, is not one iota leſs remarkably provident; Monſieur *D'Aubigny* is too ſtrong for our Fleet at *Antigua* and the *Leeward* Iſlands, and Monſieur *Perrier de Salvert* is in the ſame Situation with Reſpect to our Fleet at *Jamaica*, notwithſtanding that Admiral

miral *Townſhend*, with his whole Fleet of one Ship, is ſafely arrived at that Iſland.

In like Manner, as the very ultimate of all ſound Judgment had been diſplayed in the Diſtribution of the Cannon, Carriages, Powder, and Ball, ſeparately on board the Tranſports for *America*; ſo another Exhibition of equal good Senſe appears in ſending out the four Commanders in the *Mediterranean*; for as by the Sagacity of dividing the Stores, the Chance of defeating the Deſign was increaſed as four to one; ſo by confining all theſe four commanding Officers to one Ship, and not ſending them ſeparately, the Chance is increaſed in the ſame Proportion that the whole Deſign of their Voyage may be fruſtrated alſo. War has been already declared two Months, and no Ship is yet ſent to give Notice of it in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

The Judgments of our M——rs, like Pendulums, being eternally vibrating from one Extreme to another, paſſing through yet not reſting in the Mean, what Hopes can ye entertain of reinſtating the happy Situation from which ye are fallen. That which ſhould have been blended they have divided,

and

and that which ſhould have been ſeparated they have united; and through the whole have proved themſelves the very Antipodes to common Senſe; few Men have been born with Talents and Abilities vaſtly ſuperior to the reſt of Mankind, yet many have been well adapted to the Knowledge and Conduct of little Things, who have been incapable of comprehending the Effect and Beauty of what is great and ſublime, like the Fly which admired the Poliſh of a Mirroir, and condemned the Architecture of *St Paul's*; the mereſt Fribble of a Virtuoſo, inſenſible to the great Order of Nature, can trace with Delight and Skill the various and minute Shapes, Shades, and Colours, in a Shell or Flower, which diſtinguiſh one from another, but there appears in the Ad———n of the preſent M——r in maritime Affairs, an equal Incapacity for the Conduct of great and little Matters; the ſame Head which has ſo egregiouſly erred in the Deſtination and Appointment of larger Fleets, has in like manner been inſufficient to the minuteſt Duty of his Office; one Inſtance of the former more conſpicuouſly flagrant than the reſt, now comes to be laid before you.

SINCE the Beginning of laſt *January*, every News-Paper has been replete with the great military Preparations which were making at *Toulon*, the Number of Ships equiping and Soldiers marching towards that Port, *Marſeilles*, and Places adjacent. The Object for which theſe Forces were deſtined was as conſtantly mentioned; this Subject was the common Converſation of all Ranks of Men, from the Artiſan to the Peer, and all except the M——rs believed that *Minorca* would ſpeedily be attacked.

I DON'T mention Accounts contained in News-Papers, as authentick Relations which may warrant the m——l Attention, but to ask that as at this Time they have proved literally true, by what Means it could come to paſs, that thoſe whoſe immediate Duty it is to be informed of all the Tranſactions of ſuch a Nature amongſt our Enemies, ſhould be the only Perſons unacquainted with them, or why they alone disbelieved the Intelligence, which gained Credit amongſt all Mankind beſides?

IF the Nature of this military Preparation would have permitted a Concealment of it,

much

much might have been ſaid in Vindication of the M——rs who gave no Credit to the Account; but ſince Thouſands ſaw and declared it to all the Nations upon Earth, Why were the M——rs diffident of or unacquainted with it: An Inſtance unexampled in any Ad——n but their own; the Number of *Macnamara's* Fleet had before been equally unknown or disbelieved; this then is the ſecond Inſtance of fatal Ignorance, defective Intelligence, or arrogant Disbelief of the Force of our Enemies.

By whatever Arguments the M——rs might be ſeduced to diſcredit this military Preparation at *Toulon*, the very Probability of *Minorca's* being attacked, and the eſſential Importance which it is of to the *B—ſh* Commerce, ought to have created a Jealouſy in them, that the *French* would not long overlook ſo important an Object, unattended to and neglected, as it was by them: Theſe Conſiderations alone, without giving Credit to what was tranſacting at *Toulon*, made it their Duty indiſpenſably to have placed *Minorca* in Security from all *French* Invaſion.

BESIDES theſe Reaſons, there was yet another Motive to the ſtrengthening that Iſland from Hoſtilities, and to the believing it threatened with an Invaſion, the repeated Requeſts for Succours from the brave Commander of the Caſtle of *St Philip*. This gallant Man, after reiterated Letters to the M——rs, at length wrote to this Purpoſe to his neareſt Relation; "I have often requeſted Succours "from the M——r, I have been as often "promiſed to receive them, and as conſtant-"ly diſappointed in the Promiſe; this then, "will, I imagine, terminate in my falling a "Sacrifice to their Neglect; however, though "it ſhould ſhorten my Days a Year or two, "it will the ſooner put you in Poſſeſſion of "what I ſhall leave you, and in which I "wiſh you happy."

NOTWITHSTANDING the Conſequence of that Iſland to this Kingdom, what had been publiſhed by the Publick, written by the Governor, and believed by all Mankind, no Attention was paid to the Protection of it: No Land-Forces ſent, though the Number within the Fortreſs was known to be unequal to the Duty and Defence of it againſt a Siege; and

and whereas in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Forty-four Admiral *Mathews*, with a Fleet of forty-eight Sail, nine of which were three decked Ships, was employed in the *Mediterranean*; now Commodore *Edgecumbe* with three Ships and two Frigates only, was thought a ſufficient Protection for the *Mediterranean* Trade, and Iſland of *Minorca*.

WHATEVER were the Reaſons, no Attention was paid to this important Poſſeſſion. Whilſt all *Europe* beheld this Neglect with Amazement, and every true *Engliſh* Heart trembled for the Wound which he ſaw muſt be inflicted on his Country, our M——rs were honourably engaged in laying Wagers there was no Fleet nor Sailors to man a Fleet at *Toulon*, that if there ſhould be any it was not deſigned againſt *Mahon*; and treating with Deriſion the Apprehenſions of all who foreſaw the Event, and whoſe Love for their Country woud not permit them to be at Eaſe; whilſt the Honour of the Crown and the Intereſt of the Kingdom were open to Inſult and Diminution by this ſiniſter Neglect, and the *French* attacking *Minorca*.

DURING

DURING this Time, our Royal Navy full manned and prepared for the Seas was riding triumphantly at *Spithead*, and the Head of the Ad——y paid as an Ad——l, abſent on Leave, at the Rate of a Thouſand a Year, as if all that had been done in Honours and Profits, had been hitherto inadequate to his Merit: Glorious Picture of Wiſdom in your M——rs, illuſtrious Anecdote of their prudent Ad——n, for their Sons to read hereafter and curſe their Sires; but happily Providence, in Commiſeration to this People, has denied that Bleſſing to the moſt conſpicuous of them, kindly refuſing to their Wiſhes that Progeny, which, treading in their Father's Footſteps, muſt ſtill be baneful to this Iſle.

AT length, after four Months paſſed in m——l Inattention, and in Wonder by gazing Multitudes, Mr *Byng* ſet ſail on the fifth of *April* from *Spithead*, with ten Ships of the Line for the *Mediterranean*.

DURING theſe Months of Inattention and Neglect, *La Galiſſoniere*, with twelve Ships of the Line and five Frigates, with Tranſports ſufficient to carry fifteen Thouſand Men,

Ammunition,

Ammunition, and Artillery, for a Siege, commanded by the *Duc de Richelieu*, were gotten ready and ſailed from *Toulon*; and on the Eighteenth of *April* landed in the Iſland of *Minorca*, eight Days after our Fleet weighed Anchor from *Spithead*, and almoſt ſix Weeks before they arrived near *Mahon*. The Confirmation of the *French* Deſcent on *Minorca*, was the firſt Intelligence which demonſtrated the Truth of what all Men believed except the M——rs, and of what they had neglected in not ſending Succours to *Mahon*.

PERNICIOUS as this Delay of ſending Succours now appeared to every Eye, it was not yet irremediable, though the Troops were debarked, the Citadel was not yet taken, and the avowed Bravery of the Commander juſtified the Belief, that no ſhameful Surrender of the Fortreſs would ſtain the laſt Moments of his Life. Notwithſtanding which, it was confidently aſſerted by the M——rs and their hireling Spouters, that *La Galiſſoniere's* Fleet conſiſted only of eight Ships of the Line, and that Mr *Byng* would blow them out of the Water.

HERE

HERE was an Opportunity to be envied of retrieving all the Reputation which had been forfeited by the firſt Neglect, in not ſending a ſufficient Force to oppoſe the Enemy's Deſcent on *Minorca*.

MEN of Genius, though hitherto deluded or miſtaken, would have improved this Overſight into an Advantage, and by reinforcing the Squadron under Mr *Byng*, with a Number of Ships equal to that with which he ſet Sail, would have defeated the *French* Fleet and ſtarved their Troops in *Minorca*: By preventing military Stores, they would have ſaved *St Philip's*, and by preventing the Arrival of Proviſion, have obliged the whole Army to have ſurrendered Priſoners of War.

How capable then was the firſt Neglect of being converted to the Glory of the King and Kingdom; but alas! They knew not the Strength of that very Citadel, which was to be beſieged; and the Moment they received the Intelligence of the *French* being landed, deſponding, they concluded it was taken; otherwiſe the firſt Inattention might have been metamorphoſed from Incapacity to Wiſdom, from

Diſgrace

Diſgrace to Honour, from Loſs to Advantage, from Cenſure to Applauſe. All the States of *Europe* would have believed the firſt Behaviour, as deſigned to obtain the ſecond Advantage; and converting an egregious Imbecility into a refined Stratagem conceived highly of that Policy, which is now univerſally deſpiſed and exploded. But, alas! the ſame Saturnine Planet rules our M——rs alike arbitrarily, at all Hours and on all Occaſions; their Genius tending eternally to the Center, like a Stone thrown into a Cavern tells you by every Stroke, that it ſinks nearer to the Abyſs of Waters, in which it flounces at laſt and is no more heard of.

The Error which had been committed in not ſending Succours at firſt, improved by ſending an inſufficient Force under Mr *Byng*, was ſtill continued by neglecting to ſend a Reinforcement, which would probably have joined him before he reached *Gibraltar*; at leaſt a Ship might have carried Intelligence to *Corunna*; and as the Winds were adverſe for the Squadron, a Courier would have reached *Gibraltar* before the Fleet, and detained it 'till he was joined by a further Force.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Mr *Byng* was ſuffered to proceed with ten Ships of the Line, and the Chance of meeting Mr *Edgecumbe*, thirteen in all againſt twelve *French* Sail of equal Force to relieve *Minorca*; whilſt Mr *Osborne*, with fifteen Sail of the Line remained at *Spithead*, and ten in the Harbour of *Portſmouth*.

AT length, after long Delays from adverſe Winds, Mr *B—g* arrives on the twentieth of *May* within Sight of *Minorca* and the Enemy's Fleet; imagine then, what muſt be the Joy which fired the Heart of the old Gallant *Blakeney* at the Sight of the *B—ſh* Fleet; warmed with all the Spirit of a true Subject, he now cheriſhed the fond Hopes of obtaining Glory to himſelf, Honour to his Maſter, and Intereſt to his Country, by this Succour which he ſaw, in defeating the Enemy's Fleet, and rendering all the *French* Schemes abortive; ſuch, probably, was the pleaſing Entertainment of his Mind, when the *B—ſh* Flag appeared in Sight.

BUT, alas! Mr *B—g*, after having attacked the *French* Squadron, with not a Man killed

or

or wounded on board his own and many other Ships; with but Forty-eight killed, and One Hundred Sixty-eight wounded in the whole Squadron, retires unattempting to relieve the Garriſon of *Mahon*, becauſe the *Intrepid* had her Fore-Top-Maſt ſhot away, and leaves the brave General and his Companions cooped within the Garriſon of *St Philip's*, quite deſtitute of all Hopes of Relief.

JUDGE then, what was the Horror of this brave Man's Mind, when he firſt knew the Behaviour of our Fleet, and ſaw all his Expectations of Relief and Honour reduced to Air; deſerted in this Manner by the *B—ſh* Navy, he was yet ſuſtained by himſelf; his Heart felt the Behaviour of Mr *B—g* with more Anguiſh than the Neceſſity of being obliged to capitulate; he defended the Citadel to the laſt, and then gave it up reluctantly to your Enemies: If ye have yet the Faculties of human Nature, weep over the ſevere Fate of that brave Man, and the Sacrifice of your neglected Fellow-Countrymen! Pay that Tribute to the Remembrance of their Bravery, though ye are denied Arms to revenge their Loſs. Then call to Mind by whoſe Conduct they have periſhed.

RESOLVE me then, thoſe who daily ſuck the vital Blood of *E——d*, and vociferate in Defence of m——l Conduct; whence did it ſpring; that the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, which in the Beginning was known to all, was ſtill unknown to the M——rs? Why a ſuperior Force was not ſent to deſtroy them? And why, when *French* Forces were landed at *Minorca*, and the Number of the Squadron acknowledged to be twelve, that a Reinforcement was not immediately ſent after Mr *Byng*; yet to fruſtrate the *French* Attempts, deſtroy the Fleet, and ſtarve or take Priſoner Marſhal *Richelieu* and his whole Army? Tell me, ye who are hired or ſhare in the ſpoiling your Country for ſuch Purpoſes; tell me,——or is this Behaviour ſo heinous, that even *ye* are dumb, and aſhamed to vindicate your m——l Maſters?

How then are thoſe oppoſite Manners of m——l Proceeding with reſpect to *Germany* and *Minorca*, reconcileable with the Intereſt of *G—t B——n*, and the Duty of a *B—ſh* M——r; why was *H——r* fortified and ſecured by Treaties, with *Ruſſians*, *Pruſſians*, *Heſſians*, and *Holſteiners*, purchaſed by Profuſion

ſion of *E—ſh* Treaſure? *H——r*, which has already proved ſo fatal in exhauſting the Riches of *E——d*; and *Minorca*, though not the Source of your Wealth, the Protection of it when drawn from other Fountains, totally diſregarded? What Reaſon can be aſſigned for this inverted Behaviour, but that having laviſhed Millions in Conſequence of thoſe Treaties, and the Safeguard of *German* Dominions, there remained not Supplies ſufficient to protect *Minorca*: This, though the moſt profligate, would have been ſome Excuſe; but theſe Men are yet more unnatural and abandoned; they have fattened a ſpurious Race with your Heritage, and ſtarved their legitimate Offspring; whilſt (from Authority it is pronounced) your annual p——y Supplies were vigorous and effectual.

HAVE they then thus diſreſpectfully treated you, that the Sources of your Wealth from Commerce, being diminiſhed by the Loſs of *Mahon*, your declining State may ſooner introduce Poverty, with Dejection her Companion, and adapt your Souls to the wearing with Tranquillity, thoſe Chains which the m——l Poſſpolite is forging for you? Or, that your Protection being deſtroyed againſt the *Barbary* Corſairs,

Corſairs, your honeſt Sailors may fall a Prey to that remorſeleſs Crew, and learning there teach at their Return, that being yet one Degree above the Slaves of *Barbary*, ye have not equal Right to deplore your Fate, and thus ſooth ye to Contentment?

FATAL as this may prove to this once happy Country, culpable as the Ad——l may appear in the Eyes of all *Europe*, diſgraceful as it is to the *B—ſh* Arms, and diſhonourable to the Crown of theſe Realms: Are not thoſe who delayed the Succours at firſt, thoſe who left that Neglect unremedied by ſending an inſufficient Force, and even providing againſt that ſecond Error by a Reinforcement, yet infinitely more the Objects of your Reſentment? Speaking like Men, not blinded with the reigning Maladies of Arrogance and Self-ſufficiency, but from the Experience of former Times, what Expectations could be reaſonably entertained, that ten *E—ſh* Ships of inferior Force, or even when joined by Mr *Edgecumbe's* Squadron, that equal Powers would have had a more than equal Chance of Victory; or that the Event would prove leſs favourable to the Enemy than the *Engliſh*; ſuch Imaginations in Favour of their

Countrymen

Countrymen may be laudable, and of Service in the common Sailor and common Soldier, but in the Man who is to appoint Fleets and Commanders, fooliſh, culpable, and deſtructive.

Let it be imagined, however, that the *B—ſh* Fleet with this Equality of Force could have conquered the *French*; was it reaſonable to believe the Victory would have been ſo cheaply purchaſed, and our Ships ſo little damaged by the Engagement, as to keep the Seas and relieve *Minorca*? As it probably would not, and as both Fleets were equally excluded from the Harbour of *Mahon*, would not a Conqueſt over the *French* Squadron have been even then attended with the Loſs of the Citadel and Iſland? To what Realm could the *E—ſh* Fleet have ſteered to find Materials to repair the Injuries of the Battle? Would *Spain* have ſupplied them with naval Stores, and indulged them to refit in *Carthagena*? No Man the leaſt acquainted with the preſent Diſpoſitions of that Court believes they would; probaby then, conſidering the preſent State of *Liſbon*, *Plymouth* is the firſt hoſpitable Harbour that could have afforded them Aſſiſtance.

If a Victory then, of ſuch a Nature as the above, would have prevented the Fleet of *E——d* from keeping the Seas and ſuccouring *Minorca*, how much leſs likely is it, that effectual Relief would have been the Conſequence of a drawn Battle or a Defeat on our Side? Does it not appear then too evident, that no Succeſs, which good Senſe has a Right to expect with ſuch Parity of Force, could have relieved the Citadel of *St Philip*, or juſtified the M——rs in ſending out ſo ſmall a Squadron for the Defence of ſo important an Object.

WHATEVER then may prove the Event of this Engagement to the Admiral, let not the Depravity of his Behaviour ſeduce your Attention from thoſe who ſent him ſo unequal to the Undertaking. If after a candid and deliberate Examination, it ſhall appear that he has been egregiouſly remiſs in his Duty to his King and Country at the Hour of Battle; conſider how much more thoſe are delinquent, who delayed the Expedition and ſent him at laſt with inſufficient Force. There are Men, when ſuperior to their Enemies, who wear the Outſide of Gallantry and ſucceed, who perhaps when on equal Terms,

from

from confeſſing ſome inward Senſations of Danger, may retire and miſcarry; if it was his Duty to have riſqued every Thing in Preſervation of *Mahon*, was it leſs obligatory on them, by a ſuperior Fleet, to have prevented all probable Preſumption of Miſcarriage? After all, if Mr *B—g's* Spirit proved in the Experiment inferior to that of the Enemy, was not the Armament which the M——r gave him to command, inferior to that of the *French* alſo? On what Account was the *B—ſh* Fleet obliged to riſque the Loſs of Victory and *Minorca*, by engaging on equal Terms, when by being double that Number, it might have preſerved the Iſland, and triumphed over your Adverſaries? Whence does it ariſe then, that if the marine M——r is by Nature and Capacity adapted to the Duty of his high Office, that a Man ſo obviouſly unequal to the Task was ſelected to command the Fleet of *E——d*, and a Fleet ſo inferior to the Duty ſent to protect *Mahon*?

WHATEVER Delinquency may then be imagined to have been committed on this Account, are not the M——rs ſtill more criminal? The braveſt Man on Earth, by exerting every ſuperior Faculty of the human Mind, deſtined

and appointed to command a Fleet of that Force, might only more conſpicuouſly have manifeſted the Inſufficiency of the m——l Proviſion and Judgment, in the conducting this Affair; and proved, that though Victory ſhould have crowned his Arms, that the ſhattered Condition of his Ships would have rendered it impoſſible to preſerve *Mahon*, whereas the M——rs had it in their Power, by augmenting the Force of the Fleet, not only to have prevented Diſgrace, but to have commanded Succeſs, ſaved *Minorca*, defeated their Enemies, and crowned themſelves, the Ad——l, their King and Country with immortal Honour.

YET if you ask why more Ships were not diſpatched to the Succour of *Minorca*, they anſwer, no more were manned ready for the Seas; was it then through want of Power or pecuniary Supplies that this Deficiency aroſe? Not from the firſt, becauſe that they exert in a more deſpotick Manner than is known in the moſt arbitrary States of *Europe*, in impreſſing Seamen; not from the ſecond, becauſe no Oppoſition in P——t has delayed one Moment the levying what Money the M——r pleaſed: If to this they ſhall add, that

that the Kingdom cannot furniſh Sailors to man the Fleet with more Expedition, and that a large Number of Men of War are neceſſary for Channel Service, and to prevent Invaſions on this Iſland, and therefore a greater Force could not be ſent to the *Mediterranean*; ask how it was done the laſt War? And why, in the P——t of One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five, when all this that has followed, and much more was apprehended, a Militia Bill was neglected to be paſſed? This would have permitted the M——r to have deſtined your Fleet to uſeful Enterprizes, and cleared *Spithead* from flying Pendants, and the uſeleſs Parade of a large Navy without Application or Advantage. This would have ſaved you Millions of Money, and ſecured your Shores from every hoſtile Attack, more effectually than all the Ships built ſince the Ark, or Argo which ſet ſail with Admiral *Jaſon* to fetch the golden Fleece from *Colchos*.

If then the Souls of our M——rs are in Uniſon with their Country's Good, why did they delay and reject this neceſſary Duty to their King and their Fellow-Subjects?

LET then the Word *Militia* be eternally halloo'd in their Ears; may their Imaginations awake and ſleeping be haunted with this terrifying Neglect; may this Idea be ever preſent to their Minds, the Ghoſt of that Bleſſing which they ſtrangled, 'till alarmed by Dread and Guilt they repent and arm this defenceleſs Land.

To what Region is now fled all that Panegyrick, which was ſo loudly ſounded through the Kingdom, of Diſpatch, Diligence, and Capacity, in the m——e M——r? Why were thoſe Ships ſo expeditiouſly equipt, ſo ineffectually deſtined and applied? What Injury has this Hurry and Expence brought on your Enemies, or what Advantage to this Nation, unleſs the private Gains of a few Thouſands, and the infamous Appellation of Thieves and Pyrates from your Enemies, unanſwered by your M——rs, are conceived an adequate Recompence for the national Expence of Millions, and the Loſs of Character through all the Realms of *Europe*.

THE baſeleſs Fabrick of his Temple of Fame then is vaniſhed; the deſerted Proprietor

tor of that ſhort-lived Glare of Reputation is now ſunk into rayleſs Obſcurity, like the Bliſs of ſome poor Cottager, who from his Dream of Millions wakes amidſt the Pangs of Penury; happy for this Iſle, could the fatal Effects of his Male-adminiſtration vaniſh with the unmerited Reputation of the Author.

EGREGIOUSLY delinquent as the M——rs have proved themſelves in this Neglect of *Minorca*; with what accumulated Guilt ought they to be viewed, when the Recapitulation of their whole Conduct comes to be conſidered by you.

IF thoſe who have loſt *Mahon*, and permitted your gallant Countrymen in hopeleſs Defence to fall the guiltleſs Sacrifices of their Neglect; the unavailing yet auguſt Victims of their own and Country's Honour; Objects worthy of your Admiration and Affliction; the eternal Stigma of an unnatural Ad——n, have ruined your Trade in the *Mediterranean*, ſubjected your Sailors to the Captures and Slavery of *Barbary* Pyrates, by this one Miſconduct, what will be the whole Event of the Aggregate of their Imbecility, when by wrong Choice of Commanders in *America*, and Inattention

tention to that valuable Part of *B—ſh* Poſſeſſions, many Provinces are left open to hoſtile Inroad. May not the *French*, who have been ſome Time ſending Troops to the *Miſſiſſippi*, this Summer become Maſters of *Georgia* and *Carolina*, ſo defenceleſs and open; or perhaps ſome Province more lucrative and better adapted to the Neceſſities of *France*.

WHAT have you to expect from your boaſted naval Bulwark, if the ſame Men continue to direct it, who have already laviſhed in ineffectual Deſtination and inſufficient Force ſo many Millions? Have the *French* Expeditions been rendered abortive in one Inſtance? Have the Captures of their Ships of War exceeded three, equal to our Loſs only?

IN like Manner, behold what have been the fatal Conſequences of their Tranſactions in *Europe*; Treaties, ruinous to *E——d*, partial to *H——r*, and yet deſtructive to the Welfare of that State; Deſertion of old Allies and more potent Friendſhips, for Connexions with weaker and more needy Powers; Profuſion of publick Money to hireling Mercenaries, national Degradation and Contempt in foreign Eyes, Imputation of Diſloyalty or Cowardice

Cowardice on yourſelves, whilſt you are denied the Uſe of Arms to defend yourſelves, your Wives, and Daughters, from open Enemies, and the ſacrilegious Hands of venal Foreigners, nurtured by your own Money, brought on pretended Terms of Hoſpitality, if they ſhould dare to treat you with Inſolence.

In the mean Time, your Fellow-Subjects ſeduced into the Army by Promiſes of being liſted for three Years, and to defend their Country only, are kidnapped and forced on board Ship by Compulſion, treated and tranſported like Slaves God knows where; to return, God knows when *.

* Public Advertiser.

Extract of a Letter from Plymouth, *dated* May 21.

Yeſterday Morning Colonel *Campbell's* new-raiſed Regiment was reviewed in the Field, and ordered to appear at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon on the Dock, without Arms; which they accordingly did, and, without much Difficulty, marched into the Dock-Yard, followed to the Gates by the Garriſon, with their Bayonets fixed and Muſkets loaded, to keep Guard, while they were again reviewed by General *Hume*, the Colonel, and Admiral *Moſtyn*; after which the Companies were divided, and a Signal Gun being fired from the Admiral's Ship for all the Boats to attend, they were immediately embarked without any Diſturbance, except heavy Complaints at their being ſent abroad, contrary to the Terms of the Advertiſement, and the Promiſes made them at the Time of their inliſting.

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Is it not poſſible then, that by continuing to increaſe the Number of inſolent Foreigners, and ſending out the native Troops, that at length a ſtanding Army of the former, may become too formidable to be oppoſed by the People of *G—t B——n*, diſarmed as ye are? Or even by the Military thus daily decreaſing by Tranſportation to diſtant Parts of the World, if at length they ſhould reſent the want of Confidence which is manifeſted by thus relying on *H——ns* and *H——ns*, in Preference to that loyal Body of Men.

WHO then can wonder, if from one continued Series of Miſtakes, and flagrant Manifeſtations of m——l Incapacity, the *Swedes* ſhould ſnatch this golden Opportunity of repoſſeſſing *Bremen* and *Verden*, the *Auſtrians Sileſia*, the *Spaniards Gibraltar*, and the *French*, after having ſecured *Minorca* to themſelves, invade the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and to cloſe the whole, ranſack this very Iſland of *G—t B——n*.

HAVE not the Treaty with *Pruſſia*, and Deſertion of *Auſtrian* Intereſt, laid a probable Foundation for the *Swedes* and *Germans* to accompliſh

accompliſh the two former? Will not the ſuffering *Mahon* to be taken and yielding up that Harbour to the *French*, encourage the *Spaniards*, to attempt the third? And *France* having no farther Object for her Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, unite and employ all her Force in perpetrating the fourth.

WILL then the actual Poſſeſſion of ſome, and nearer Proſpect of ſubduing all theſe Places, permit the m——l Gang to raiſe the Supplies for the enſuing Year? Will thoſe who have aſſiſted the M——y, through the lucrative View of private Intereſt, lend them their Money when the Danger of loſing all exceeds the Poſſibility of the Profit? Then will it not too evidently appear, when Bankruptcy, Diſtreſs, and Anarchy are let looſe, that the unlimited Profuſion of *E—ſh* Gold for *German* Intereſt, has at length brought that Inundation of Evils, ſo long predicted, on this deplorable Country.

WHO then are Friends, and who your Foes? What are thoſe Men who dare impute Diſloyalty to Subjects, whoſe Words and Actions would have contributed to ſave this ſinking State, if their Counſel had been

followed? Shall the tracing a *Scotch* Renegado Jeſuit through all his doubling Lies and Fallacies, to prevent future Impoſition on a few, by the Diſcovery, be (as it ought) deemed a laudable and honeſt Purſuit; and yet the unravalling the Miſchiefs which M——rs have brought on a whole Nation, and attempting to reſcue it from their impious Hands, be blaſted with the Appellation of a Libel? Be not, like individual Atoms playing in the Sun-Beams, detached from one another, whirl'd to and fro, as the Breath of m——l Conduct blows amongſt ye; let the general Good, like the general Attraction, hold ye firm, to what ye owe yourſelves and Country; otherwiſe, to what Purpoſe do ye curſe the Ad——l, that forſook the Cauſe of his King and Country, and praiſe the Gallant *Blakeney* who never deſerted his Truſt? Why do ye importunately ask, Will the *Spaniards* join the *French* to attack *Gibraltar*? Will the *French* invade this Kingdom? Alas! neither Imprecation nor Panegyrick, the taking or Defence of *Gibraltar*, or even the coming of the *French*, can bring a greater though a more ſudden Evil on your Condition; nothing can long relieve or ſave this Nation, if the ſame Rulers in the Cabinet continue to preſide, ye

need

need no foreign Enemy to make ye Slaves. Can ye conceive that the ſame Men who have brought Ruin on your Affairs, have either Inclination or Abilities to reinſtate them in their former happy Situation? inquiſitive but ſenſeleſs of your Fate, your Souls ſeem to have loſt all thoſe virtuous and quick Senſations, which have hitherto been the inſeparable Companions of a free State.

To what Purpoſe then, when all Remedies muſt come too late, will this predicted Ruin be believed by you? What will then avail that Anguiſh, when you curſe your Deſtroyers and your own Inattention? perhaps accompanied with this imbittering Reflexion, that thoſe whom ye aſſiſted to ruin you have bound your Hands in Chains, and are become the arbitrary Maſters of the Kingdom. Unleſs then ye ſuddenly awake from this Trance into which ye are fallen, your foreign or domeſtick Enemies will prevent ye, and then ye muſt ſleep the Sleep of Death, *England* is no more!

However deſtructive therefore this Action of Mr *B—g* may appear on Enquiry, remember, before it be too late, once more I

charge you to examine whether the original Authors of that Evil, are not infinitely more criminal? If it ſhall be found, that his Conduct has in one Inſtance entailed Diſgrace on this Kingdom, let it be ſeen whether the M——rs have not by numberleſs and repeated Acts, almoſt overwhelmed the Land with Infamy; nay, though he ſhould be condemned for want of Courage, will it not be juſt to enquire whether, if thoſe Men have with unwearied Diligence depreciated every Virtue, and ſapped every honourable Motive of the human Soul, given Power and Honours to Riches only, and neglected all Degrees of Merit; this very Imputation of want of Reſolution, may not equitably be aſcribed to them alſo?

Is it then a Wonder, that Men in all Ranks, corrupted in Head and Heart, ſhould be unequal to the Tasks which Honour only can inſpire and Virtue accompliſh? Remember then, if Mr *B—g* be doomed to Puniſhment, to which it is not improbable he may, as a Scape-Goat offered to your Reſentment for the Salvation of the M——s, that this can avail nothing in your Favour; will not the ſame Deficiency of Judgment ſtill operate in the Choice of Commanders and Deſtination of

Expeditions,

Expeditions, whilſt the Direction remains in the ſame Hands? What Expectation have ye by his Removal, that your national Affairs will wear a better Face, or raiſe the fallen Condition of this ſinking Land.

WILL it not then be ſtrictly equitable, that the ſame Voice which calls Mr *B—g* to a candid Examination of his Conduct, ſhould ſummon alſo thoſe who have ſo long and ſo fatally ſuperintended the Direction of national Affairs to an impartial Enquiry, that ye be aſcertained why the Territories of *England* on the *Ohio* were ſhamefully conceded to the *French*; to whom and to what Purpoſe your Millions have been laviſhed, whether to the Ruin or Advantage of this Iſland; on what Account *Mahon* and *America* were neglected, and *H——r* preferred to all; and from what Cauſe it happens, that Six Millions and a Half in the laſt Year of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, could ſuffice for the Intereſt of Fifty Millions and the Support of a vigorous War; that now Twelve Millions, when the annual Expence of the Debt by the diminiſhing Intereſt of Money exceeds not what it was at that Time, are not equal to the annual Extravagance of the M——rs, or productive of one Victory.

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In her Reign, though your Treaſures were exhauſted, and your Fellow-Subjects ſlaughtered for *German* Intereſts, ye ſuſtained the flattering Character of a brave and honeſt People amongſt the Nations, and were by the ſuperb Victories which your General obtained, honoured and revered; but under the Direction of theſe auſpicious M——rs, ye live without Renown, and die without Victory, ſtigmatized with the infamous Brand of Thieves and Pyrates, by that Nation which then dared not to look ye in the Face: Shameful Alternative.

Notwithstanding this, if before a juſt Tribunal the Tranſactions of the M——rs ſhall be found both honourable and upright, and the approaching Fate of *B——n* owing to thoſe irreſiſtable Cauſes, by which all Nations periſh, and to which they are not acceſſary; they will then like Souls paſſed through Purgatory to Paradiſe, riſe from Calumny to Approbation, from Hatred to Eſteem, from Pain to Pleaſure; what then can be more acceptable to Men of Integrity, than ſuch an Enquiry? But if through the Evidence of Truth, they ſhall ſtand convicted of Maleadminiſtration, let no Malevolence preſume

to

to draw Compariſons between the Conduct of paſſed M——rs who have ſuffered, and the preſent who have not, or attempt increaſing the Heinouſneſs of their Actions, by truly ſtating thoſe of the Sufferers: For the ſake of theſe who are yet alive, I wiſh you never to recal the Decapitation of Lord *Strafford*, or compare his and their Conduct; Revenge is criminal, it is unworthy a *Briton*; if the Love of your Country muſt make ye feel the Paſſions to which human Nature is ſubjected, remember, though ye are Men that ye are Chriſtians alſo; and, notwithſtanding the Ruin of this Land is well nigh compleated, implore your S———n to afford thoſe Enemies to his Realm that Mercy which they have ever denied his innocent People; and when he ſhall graciouſly preſerve them from condign Puniſhment, that he will mercifully caſt an Eye of Pity alſo on Millions of his faithful Subjects, and ſave them from Perdition, by at once removing from his Preſence, the Spoilers of the Dignity of his Crown, and Liberties of his Subjects; keep then your Eyes and Attention ſteadily on your Prince, from him expect Relief, there remains yet one Method by which ye may all be ſaved.

F I N I S.